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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 323

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PARTY AND STATE

INTERVIEWS WITH NEW MINISTERS OF STATE COUNCIL

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 4, 1982 pp 5-7

[Article by Zhang Mengyi [1728 1322 0308] and Chen Baolian [7115 0202 1670]]

[Text] The structural reform of the State Council attracted attention at home and abroad. On 8 March, the 22d meeting of the standing committee of the National People's Congress deliberated and approved in principle Premier Zhao Ziyang's "Report on the Structural Reform of the State Council." Qian Zhengying [6929 2973 5391], Liu Yi [0491 3015], Chen Muhua [7115 1970 5478] and Qin Zhongda [4440 0112 6671], the first group of new ministers appointed by the standing committee, have become the focus of attention. Thereupon, we decided to interview them.

Nevertheless, it was difficult to get to see them. We telephoned and called on their secretaries in person for appointments. The secretaries readily promised: "We will help to arrange an appointment." But they immediately lamented: "The minister is terribly busy these days."

It was the truth. We approached the comrades of the four ministries and discovered the tremendous amount of work involved in the structural reform! Take the Ministry of Foreign Economics and Trade for instance: The original four units, viz., State Import and Export Commission, Ministry of Foreign Trade, Ministry of Economic Relations with Foreign Countries and Foreign Investment Control Commission, are now combined into one ministry. They were scattered in the vicinities of either Baitasi in West City, Dongdan in East City or Andingmen. With the merger, just to move them to one location was complicated. Then, how should the former departments, bureaus, offices and sections be combined? How should the new units be established? Who would be appointed chiefs of the units? How should proper arrangements be made for the retired and severed old comrades?.... All these needed the ministers to make decisions and carry them out. Soliciting opinions, discussing the lists of names, repeated considerations... all involved "detailed work." Meanwhile, the regular business work of the various departments had to be performed as usual!

Unable to see the ministers for the time being, we could only "gather peripheral information" first. We inquired from the comrades of these ministries the experiences, special skills, abilities and hobbies of the new ministers and gained much "background information" on them. Our one general impression is that they can all be considered experts in their particular ministries. When we finally interviewed them, the "background information" helped us understand them.

She Was an Engineer

Qian Zhengying is 59 years old. Her experiences are near legendary, enough to write a book. However, she seldom discusses them, and was reluctant to reveal them to the reporters.

Her father, an expert in flood control of the older generation, had a Master's degree from Cornell University in America. Under his influence, Qian Zhengying, ever since her childhood, was determined to become a woman engineer. In the late 1930's, she passed the entrance examinations for the Department of Civil Engineering of Shanghai's Datong University. She was a superior student.

When the underground party organization was devastated in 1942, Qian Zhengying, already a party branch secretary, had to end her college life and move from Shanghai to the Huabei liberated area. She was in a group of six, who were all schoolmates. To avoid questioning en route by the Guomindang, she and a male student pretended to be cousins. This student was Huang Xinpai [7806 6580 4101] who subsequently became her lifelong companion.

In the second summer after arrival in the liberated area, the Huai River rose suddenly and the large dyke broke. The New 4th Army organized and led the masses to rush repair the dike. A rare civil engineering student in the army, Qian Zhengying became the emergency engineer. From then on, she launched on her career in hydraulic engineering. In 1950, Qian Zhengying, known as "the yellow-hair girl," became the vice minister of the Huadong Ministry of Water Conservancy.

In 1954, 29-year old Qian Zhengying was appointed vice minister of Water Conservancy. Through the years since then, she has been known for her expertise in water conservancy and electric power and for her decisiveness. She personally handled and investigated and studied many things, especially the major engineering and technical problems. Between the end of 2 years ago and the beginning of last year, including New Year's Day and the Spring Festival, she spent 50 to 60 days at the Gezhouba construction site. She indicated to the leading comrades of the State Council that she would take full responsibility if the dam project failed. After a thorough investigation and study, she and the leading construction personnel, selecting the best moment, promptly issued the order to build the dam, achieving instant success.

"Truly sorry to have kept you waiting so long. I am somewhat in utter confusion!" These were her first words upon seeing us. It was a weekend evening. The closing bell of the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Electric Power had sounded more than an hour ago, and there was no one in the hallway, yet she was still in the room, serving both as an office and a lounge, working with Comrade Wang Lin [3769 2651], the adviser.

The Ministries of Water Conservancy and Electric Power, the two closely related agencies, had been separated and merged in the past, and now they are merged again. In that case, is it like the opening lines of the famous classic novel "Three Kingdoms" which read, "in terms of the situation of the world, after a long separation, there is combination; after a long combination, there is separation?" Qian Zhengying replied: "Separation and combination each have its reasons. There are advantages in separation, and there are also advantages in combination, while at the same time, each has its contradictions. The issue is to summarize the experiences of the separations and combinations of the past, developing the superiority of combination and avoiding its contradictions. The merger this time is not a simple repetition of history, but the pursuit of a new level on a new foundation."

Immediately, she pointed out emphatically: "Structural simplification is only the first step. The key is reform--reforming both the system and the method and work style. It is a crucial task. Not just myself, but our entire leading team feels that it is not easily accomplished." After a moment's reflection, she said: "Our country is at the time of continuing the past to forge ahead. Structural reform is also a task of continuing the past to forge ahead. In this sense, I am only a transitional figure. I have the task of selecting young comrades to the leadership posts as well as making the old comrades withdrawn to the second line feel settled and develop their effect. I should transit to the stage of letting Comrade Li Peng [2621 7720] take over, and let more young comrades take over." Fifty-four-year old Li Peng is the first vice minister of Water Conservancy and Electric Power. Qian Zhengying brought the subject up the moment she assumed office. Her foresight and breadth of mind are truly admirable.

What Is His "Administrative Program?"

When we arrived at the office of Comrade Qin Zhongda, minister of Chemical Industry, it was half past 12 in the afternoon. This simple office serves both as a conference room and a temporary bedroom. Along the wall is a single bed where he takes a rest at noon.

While inviting us to sit down, he apologized: "In the morning we discussed organ simplification work, in the afternoon I have to attend the memorial meeting of an old comrade, and in the evening there will be foreign affairs activities. So, I have to interfere with your noon rest."

We wanted him to discuss his "administrative program" after assuming office. He said with a smile: "As reporters, it is right for you to

acquaint yourselves with the new plans of the new minister. However, I do not have any new stuff. If we are to discuss new plans, then the first thing is to be a good successor--continuing the achievements and good traditions and the good work style of the previous ministers, and bringing them to a greater light."

He informed us that China's chemical industry has grown from small to big, and now it has become a large field with more than 6,000 enterprises and more than 2.8 million staff and workers. The output value and profit of the entire industry each constitute 10 percent of the national totals. More than 20,000 chemical industrial products are linked with industry and agriculture and the people's living. He remarked with a sigh: "The burden on us is not light! When the standing committee of the National People's Congress appointed me the minister of Chemical Industry, I felt that, whether in ideological level, work ability, or knowledge and experience, I am far below the requirements of the post. Therefore, I will study vigorously, studying the party's principles and policies, economic management and all useful knowledge, rely on collective leadership, relying on the old comrades who have withdrawn from the front line and the broad cadres, experts and masses, and firmly complete the assignments of the party and the government."

Comrade Qin Zhongda is a "veteran chemical industrial expert" with an insatiable desire for knowledge. During the war to resist Japan, he did research in military production in Jiaodong region, and subsequently took part in building military production bases in the Northeast. In the early post-liberation days, he served as the chief of the Dalian chemical plant. After 1956, he always performed leadership work in chemical industry in the aspects of capital construction, equipment, technical supply and production management and planning. He learned English, Japanese and Russian by himself. His rich practical experience and expert knowledge have given him a fairly comprehensive understanding of the chemical industry.

As an advance unit of structural simplification, the replacement work of the ministerial level of the Chemical Industry Ministry has now been completed. The 19 organs of department and bureau levels will be merged into 15. The plan has been discussed twice at the higher level and twice at the lower level, and the personnel will be reduced by one-third.

"When the structure is simplified and the personnel reduced, will the tasks be completed?" As if he had guessed our question, Comrade Qin Zhongda said with confidence: The overstaffed structure, the numerous levels, the wrangling and procrastination, and the low efficiency--these were all problems of the system itself. The present merging of organs and reduction of levels have indeed hit the crucial spot. After structural simplification, first we must establish the personal responsibility system, clarifying the functions and duties. Each level must have its responsibilities, and problems must not be passed on to the higher level. We must act according to principles and, in handling problems, give

priority to the work. There must be no recourse to "relationships." Therefore, while making the leadership teams of the various levels knowledgeable, professional and youthful, we must properly revolutionize ideology.

"Help Them Shorten the Process"

The merger work of the Ministry of Foreign Economics and Trade, created by combining four foreign economic units, has been performed smoothly. Comrade Chen Muhua informed us that, in line with the principle of rationally dividing the labor, clarifying the functions and duties, reducing the levels and raising the efficiency, the newly organized ministry has 20 units of department and bureau levels, reducing the organs of the original 4 units by 1/2 and the number of cadres by 1/3. Some 65 percent of the cadres of bureau level and above are of university level.

Comrade Chen Muhua began talking with us the moment we came to her office. Her tone is calm and steady, and she analyzes issues in a systematic manner. Though the 61-year old Comrade Chen Muhua has long been well-known, people may not all be familiar with her experiences, which cover many aspects. She went to Yanan to perform revolutionary work in 1938. After the founding of the nation, she did specialized work in coal mining, railway and planning. In the late 1950's, she went to Vietnam as an expert to help with its construction. After returning to China, beginning in the sixties, she has always performed foreign economic liaison work and visited many Third World nations. To the people in those nation, she is not a stranger.

She said: Combining the four foreign economic units into one is merely the beginning, and arduous tasks will follow. The merger is not to make an "assorted dish," but to form an organic whole. Thereafter, she discussed the link between foreign economic work and the four modernization construction and the significance of the merger. She said: The open-door economic policy followed by us now is a great transformation from the closed-door situation of the past. To adapt to the transformation and change the incompatible present conditions, structural reform is a crucial measure. She illustrated: In the past, the unified foreign economic work was separately handled by four units, which were of the same level and had to be coordinated by the State Council. Now that they are merged, we only need internal coordination to perform the work, thereby raising the efficiency. Naturally, there are still many things which cannot be solved by our ministry alone. To raise our efficiency, there is still much to be done--work attitude, work style, the quality of the cadres, and the economic system. Nevertheless, structural reform is doubtlessly an extremely crucial aspect. It is a revolution of the system.

She feels that, in this revolution, the reactions of many old cadres are good. She said that we must recognize the following point: In terms of many old comrades, leaving their work posts is a great change in their thinking and work and in their life and habits. They must continue to

produce an effect--passing on the good traditions and experiences and bringing forth the good ideas and work styles. Nevertheless, they will feel unaccustomed to be away from the front line, and the change requires a process. We must help them rearrange their lives and shorten the process. We must create a set of experiences: In this country of ours, how do we make the proper arrangements for the retired and severed old cadres? How do we develop their effect?--Figuratively speaking, how do we develop their "remaining heat?" We must find a way.

Do More and Say Less

Among the ministers interviewed, we can frankly say that we felt unfamiliar with Liu Yi, the new minister of Commerce, even though he had served as a vice minister of the old Ministry of Commerce for 4 1/2 years. For this very reason, we wanted to find out more about him.

Is the minister, who grew up on the shores of the Yellow Sea, a worker-peasant cadre or an intellectual? We asked his secretary Comrade Li before we saw him. The secretary said with a smile: When he joined the work in 1948, our minister was only 18 years old. What kind of cadre do you think he is? We were speechless. According to the comrades of the ministry, the bespectacled minister only went to middle school and worked as a teacher. Though without an impressive academic background, he paid serious attention to learning in practical work and was rich in experience, thereby becoming an able man with professional knowledge. He is straightforward and neat in his work. Whatever he can do himself, he will always do it personally. He drafts as many of his speeches as possible. The manuscripts concerning the reform of the Ministry of Commerce were all revised by him.

However, we went through a lot trouble to interview him. After the merger of the three units, he was almost "inundated" in the series of tasks in the merger work. After his appointment as minister by the standing committee of the National People's Congress, reporters in the press circles of the capital wanting to interview him numbered by the dozens. It was not surprising as he is the youngest among the four new ministers and performed leadership work in local finance and trade for many years; therefore, reporters were all anxious to find out about him. However, the requests for interview were almost all courteously refused by the personnel around him.

Is Minister Liu Yi reluctant to receive the reporters because of his work load, or modesty, or some other consideration? It became a puzzle. Nevertheless, as reporters, interviewing the new ministers was our responsibility, and we finally got to see him. Seeing us, he told us his true feelings. He said: Do not think that I am stuck-up. The three units had barely been combined, and we had not done much work. So, there was little to discuss. At present, besides implementing the spirit of the Party Central Committee and the State Council in combining the two ministries and one agency, the leading team of this ministry is busy with the

merger of the bureau (company) level and the solution of some urgent problems. In regard to the commerce work this year, we are considering it, but have not had time to make detailed special studies. Commerce work is closely linked with the production and living of the people of the whole country. How to perform the work properly, how to raise efficiency and overcome bureaucracy, and how to make arrangements for the many old comrades after the merger and simplification require conscientious discussions, decisions and implementations step by step. Comrade Liu Yi feels that the work is fairly arduous and needs the leadership of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, collective wisdom and strength, and their own diligence and effort. His words have enabled us to understand that his true feeling is that, shouldering a heavy burden and in charge of ministerial affairs, he should do more and say less, do first and say later. Is this not the work style of modesty and prudence and seeking the truth from the facts which deserves recommendation in the four modernization construction?

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PARTY AND STATE

HOPES FOR DRAFT CONSTITUTION OUTLINED

Beijing FAXUE ZAZHI in Chinese No 2, 1982 pp 12-14

[Article by Zhong Dai [6988 1486]: "Certain Hopes Regarding Our Country's Draft Constitution"]

[Text] It is now 1 year, 4 months since the Commission for Revision of the Constitution, at its first meeting on 15 September 1980, began a systematic revision of the constitution based on the proposals of the CCP Central Committee and the resolution passed at the third session of the Fifth NPC. In order to do the best possible revision of the constitution, the fourth session of the Fifth NPC postponed completion of the work of revising the constitution until the fifth session of the Fifth NPC in 1982. We can be confident that the draft constitution, drawn up by the Commission for Revision of the Constitution through such a long and laborious process and based on such a large amount of investigation and research, is bound to be in accord with the feelings of the people and will meet their expectations. This article is intended to present a few hopes in connection with the draft constitution at this time when it is about to be published and submitted to the whole nation for discussion.

I. The Four Basic Principles Must Be Justly and Forcefully Written Into the Constitution

The four basic principles constitute the practical summing up of the Chinese people's protracted revolutionary struggle; they are the fundamental principles which guide all our actions. Any book on modern Chinese history shows us that starting with the Opium War of 1840 and through the bloody sacrifices that continued for several generations, the masses of our hundreds of millions of people have never been able to escape tragic misfortunes. The famous Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Movement, the 100-day Modernization and Constitutional Reform Movement, the Yihetuan Movement, etc, all failed to bring salvation to China. The Revolution of 1911, led by Sun Yat-sen, overthrew the Qing Dynasty, ended several thousands of years of feudal autocracy and set up a republican system. The achievements of the Revolution of 1911 were indeed great, but it did not change China's semifeudal and semicolonial status. It was only in 1949 that the Chinese people overthrew their three big enemies and established the people's democratic dictatorship of new China through a protracted, arduous, tortuous struggle, led by the CCP, which having found

Marxism, this most advanced ideological weapon of mankind, and also having integrated Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution, used the armed forces of the people and formed a united front. After establishment of the PRC, our path has still not been smooth, but generally speaking tremendous achievements have been made. The system of exploitation has been abolished, socialism has been firmly established, the people's political power has become increasingly consolidated, the socialist industrial system and the national economic system have already basically taken shape, science and culture have experienced very great developments, and the international standing of our country has been raised to an unprecedented height. Following the smashing of the "gang of four," an even closer unity has been established between the various nationalities throughout our country. Millions of people, with one heart and one mind, pooling the wisdom and efforts of everyone, are now struggling to gradually build up our country into one with modernized agriculture, industry, defense, science and technology, and into a highly democratic, highly cultured strong socialist state. Historical experience and the victories gained by the Chinese people testify to the truth that if we firmly take the socialist path, firmly uphold the people's democratic dictatorship, firmly uphold the leadership of the CCP, firmly uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we will always be invincible, but when we stray from these four basic principles, we will suffer defeat or commit serious mistakes.

The constitution is the fundamental law; it is the chief statute of the country. The constitution must give full expression to the four basic principles and set them up as the highest norm for everyone to observe. There are at present a small number of people who do not understand, who doubt, or who even oppose the four basic principles. This is a mistake. Because of this, it is even more necessary to justly and forcefully write the four basic principles into the constitution.

II. The Basic Rights of Citizens Must Be Expanded and Guaranteed as Far as Possible

Mankind is advancing and democracy is developing. We hope that the new constitution will surpass the original constitution with respect to such questions as democratic rights, freedoms, etc.

1. The PRC is a socialist state. The economic foundation of a socialist state is public ownership--a state in which the people themselves control the means of production. The political system of the socialist state is the people's democratic dictatorship with all powers devolving to the people and the people themselves controlling the state. The fundamental character of this social and governmental system is the determining factor for the fact that our people are bound to enjoy far more and broader democratic rights and freedoms than people in the capitalist countries. They are also bound to enjoy far more reliable and substantial legal and material guarantees than people in the capitalist countries.

2. Compared with the conditions in 1954, when the first constitution was adopted, conditions today offer a much greater possibility to broaden and

heighten the various democratic rights and freedoms enjoyed by the citizens, whether we look at the political conditions or the economic and cultural conditions. As for class relations, by 1954 the landlord class and the bureaucrat-capitalist class had just been overthrown, but because members of these classes survived and remained inflexible, they vainly schemed all along to recover their lost paradise. Although the national bourgeoisie was dealt with as an internal contradiction among the people, there were at that time extremely intense struggles concerning restrictions and transformation. Today, the drastic change in the balance of class forces is very obvious. Although class struggle still exists, the remnants of the reactionary classes are close to complete annihilation. The national bourgeoisie per se is extinct. The members of the former exploiting classes have either died or are incapacitated; essentially, they have already been transformed into workers who support themselves by their own labor. Looking again at economic conditions, in 1954 there still existed the five elements in the social economy, and the system of ownership of the means of production by capitalists had not yet undergone a complete transformation. The annual production of steel was only a little more than 2 million tons, and the annual production of grain only more than 330 billion jin. However, today exploitation has long been eliminated and the socialist public ownership has for a long time been the only economic foundation of our society. In 1980, steel production reached 37 million tons and grain production over 630 billion jin. The modernization of our industry, agriculture, defense, and science and technology by far surpasses that of 1954. There had been fairly substantial objective restrictions on the basic rights of citizens in the 1954 constitution, but today there are far fewer restrictions.

3. Reviewing the general tendency in the constitutions of various countries of the world, there is a trend toward enhancing the citizens' basic rights. Before the last century, the constitutions of such countries as America, Germany, Italy, Spain, Switzerland and Austria originally had no special sections or provisions of this kind, but most of them later added such provisions or added special sections on the rights of citizens, and in most of the countries the rights of citizens were placed at the beginning of the constitutions to show that they were considered important. For instance, the Yugoslav constitution of 1946 put citizens' rights in its fifth section, but the 1974 Constitution moved them ahead to its third section. The Romanian constitution of 1948 put citizens' rights in its third section; but in 1975 they were moved to the second section. In their constitutional revisions of the seventies, Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, West Germany, Italy, Mexico, Portugal and Spain all listed the rights of citizens in their first section. At the same time there were also fairly important developments in the scope of and guarantees for these rights in the constitutions of various countries. For instance, the Yugoslav constitution has over 70 paragraphs providing for such items as the economic position of workers, work income, individual benefits, life insurance, old-age insurance, disability insurance, housing construction, etc. In their formal provisions for citizens' rights, the constitutions of capitalist countries also show these developments to a varying degree, but of course as a result of the struggle of working people. We must not be an exception to this world trend.

4. The history of our country is a history of man exploiting man; the broad masses of people had been in a protracted state of suppression and enslavement. Now that liberation has been achieved by the Chinese people under the leadership of the party, the people should highly treasure these rights and freedoms that were paid for in blood and lives and that affirm the people as masters of their own affairs. However, it cannot be denied that in the various political movements since 1954, the basic rights and freedoms of a section of our people have, to varying degrees, suffered encroachments. Especially during the 10 years of calamity, a large number of innocent sufferers lost even their minimum human rights. These painful experiences taught the people the great value of democratic rights and freedoms! They fervently hope that the future constitution will fully acknowledge and genuinely guarantee the basic rights and freedoms of citizens.

Our hopes must, of course, be based on the present situation; they must be realistic and feasible. We reject methods divorced from reality which are nothing but empty verbiage, and reject even more giving a green light to bourgeois liberalization.

III. Our Political System Requires Reforms

Our political system is a socialist democratic system, which in essence is incomparably superior to the capitalist political system. However, certain sectors of our political system have defects such as bureaucracy, personal privileges, low efficiency, structural overlapping, excessive appointments of deputies or nominal appointments, lack of coordination between various government organs, disputes over trifles, etc. Reform and improvements are, therefore, urgently needed.

The key to reforming our political system is the strengthening of democratic centralism.

Our democracy is a system of representative government, that is, the sovereign people run the state through representatives. This democratic system must solve three crucial problems: 1) the people and its representatives must not be two different types of people without very close connections with each other; 2) the people's representatives must not be met who attempt nothing and accomplish nothing; and 3) the people's congresses must actually play effective roles as organs of power. These three items must be major themes in the draft of the new constitution. In another respect, our country's democracy must also show itself to be a direct democracy. The constitution must as far as possible create conditions which will fully enable the people to govern the country, administer the society, and administer all economic and cultural affairs; in addition, all governmental departments must be placed under the direct supervision of the people.

On the foundation of democracy, government at all levels must improve its capacity to handle the affairs of state in a concentrated way. The constitution must define with greater clarity the powers of office as between the various systems of state organs of all types, between the central and the

local authorities, and between the higher level and the lower level authorities. If responsibilities are not clear and division of labor is not defined, some work will be duplicated and some work not done at all, with very adverse effects on general efficiency. The constitution should lay down strict procedures to restrict the establishment of additional government departments, and also prescribe a definite number of deputy appointments and stipulate that government personnel in responsible positions may serve no more than two consecutive terms.

IV. Concrete Measures Are Necessary to Supervise Implementation of the Constitution

Our past three constitutions had one common weakness, namely, the failure to provide concrete measures that would effectively guarantee and supervise the implementation of the constitution itself. It happened, therefore, that at its promulgation the constitution was propagated with great enthusiasm, but soon thereafter was laid aside and neglected. The 1954 constitution could be considered a good constitution as regards its essential spirit as well as in its various paragraphs, but because our country had not set up an effective system of supervising the implementation of the constitution, whenever a violation of the constitution occurred, there was no special organization and no special official charged with the responsibility of protecting the sanctity of the constitution and strictly investigating the violation. For this reason the prestige and effectiveness of the constitution declined precipitously until at the time of the 10 years of turmoil the constitution was completely trampled underfoot. This extremely grievous lesson of history must be turned to benefit in drafting the new constitution. It is hoped that the draft constitution will overcome the weakness of the previous three constitutions and stipulate in concrete terms certain measures of supervision so that our future constitution will truly become the highest norm guiding all our country's activities.

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CSO: 4005/880

POLITICAL

REVISION OF CONSTITUTION DISCUSSED

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 10 May 82 p 3

[Article by Li Zhengping [2621 2973 1627] : "Systemize and Legalize Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] The constitution is the fundamental law of the nation. The present turning over of revision drafts of the constitution to the people for discussion has systematized and legalized socialist democracy in the building of the people's democracy. This marks a great advancement over previous constitutions.

The original significance of the term democracy indicated the rule of the majority of people which was the people's political power. Lenin pointed out that: "Democracy is a national form, a national pattern." The national form of the democratic dictatorship of the people reveals that democracy and dictatorship are inseparable and have a mutually integrated dialectically unified relationship. Democracy is people enjoying the democratic rights of the nation. The general principles of the revision draft of the constitution stipulate that: "All rights belong to the people." This is a focused expression of the will and interests of all of the people and fully reflects the nature and characteristics of socialist democracy. In human history only socialist democracy is true people's democracy. The people as masters of the nation enjoy participation in the administration of the state and other democratic rights. It is the most extensive democracy which no capitalist nation could possibly have. At present, the draft of the constitution has been given to the various nationalities of the nation for discussion so as to allow everyone to express their views. This in itself reflects the sacred democratic rights of each citizen. We must use this sense of responsibility of the proletariat to improve this discussion.

When we conscientiously study and discuss the revision draft of the constitution, we cannot but turn and think of the disaster brought to the nation and people by Lin Biao and the group of Jiang Qing. During the 10 years of chaos, why were they able to place themselves above the party and people, run wild outside party discipline and national law, brazenly destroy socialist democracy, and perversely trample on the socialist legal system? This is strongly related to why China's socialist democracy has still not been legalized and systematized. This painful historical lesson is worth

remembering forever. Since the Party's Third Plenary Session there have been a series of actions whereby order has been brought out of chaos. Thus, when the people enjoy deserved democratic rights and are able to wholeheartedly build the four modernizations we deeply realize the importance of legalizing and systematizing socialist democracy. The present revision draft of the constitution sums up the positive and negative experiences since the establishment of the PRC and makes detailed stipulations on how to strengthen and promote socialist democracy so as to fix the fundamental law. This fully reflects the aspirations and needs of all the people. It is also a new milestone in the history of China's legal system signifying China's tremendous progress in legalizing and systematizing its socialist democracy. Naturally, while citizens enjoy full democratic rights they must also fulfil obligations, and abide by the constitution and laws. Because no absolute has ever existed in the world wherein there are no restrictions on freedom and rights, the rights and obligations of citizens are inseparable.

The masses are the makers of history. This is the fundamental principle of dialectical materialism and it also embodies the main line in the revision draft of the constitution. The famous literary master Guo Moruo wrote in a poem: "How many peoples blood, have been exchanged for this glory When I think of it I am on the verge of tears, I laugh heartily and do not make a sound." We not only wrote the constitution to acclaim the people's victorious achievements but even more so for their hard-earned prize and to safeguard their dignity.

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PARTY AND STATE

REGIONAL COMMENTARY ON DRAFT CONSTITUTION

View From Shanghai

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Apr 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Actively and Conscientiously Discuss the Draft of the Revised Constitution"]

[Text] On the basis of a resolution by the NPC Standing Committee, the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China" has now been promulgated and turned over to the people of the various nationalities for discussion. Explanation of the Draft of the Revised Constitution by Vice Chairman of the Committee for the Revision of the Constitution Peng Zhen has also been published at the same time. The people of various nationalities of the whole country are about to join the debate over the Draft of the Revised Constitution enthusiastically in the period from May to August this year. This is a big event in the political life of our country. The people of the entire Shanghai Municipality should likewise take action immediately and actively and conscientiously participate in this discussion by the whole nation of the Draft of the Revised Constitution. This shall be of great significance to our energetic efforts aiming at giving scope to socialist democracy, strengthening our socialist legal system, and promoting the building of our socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The Constitution is a general charter, a fundamental law." Since the founding of our state, we have formulated three constitutions. Of these the Constitution of 1954 was relatively well done, whereas the two Constitutions of 1975 and 1978 were, because of limitation by historical conditions at the time, both rather imperfect. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our political life, economic life and cultural life have all undergone great changes and development. The focus of the work of the party and state has been shifted to the construction of socialist modernization; the CCP Central Committee has provided a new scientific analysis of the domestic class situation; the democratization of the state has gained important development and is still in need of further perfection; the leadership system and economic system of the state are undergoing, and will continue to carry out, important reforms, etc. In the face of these new situations, the current 1978 Constitution is obviously inadequate for present needs. For this reason, at the Third Session of the 5th NPC, the people's deputies fully discussed the proposal by the

CCP Central Committee and passed a resolution to revise the Constitution and establish a Committee for the Revision of the Constitution. The Draft of the Revised Constitution promulgated this time was formulated by the Committee for the Revision of the Constitution after an effort of 1 and a half years and after conscientious, careful debates by various circles. After discussion, revision, and formal passage by the whole nation, this Constitutional Draft shall become the fundamental law of our country in the new historical period, the behavioral norm of the people of various nationalities, all state organs and people's armed forces, various political parties and social organizations as well as various public agencies and entrepreneurial units across the country, and the foundation for building our socialist democracy and social legal system. Hence, the promulgation of this Draft of the Revised Constitution naturally has aroused the people's utmost attention throughout the country.

The revision of the Constitution this time was carried out on the basis of summing up our experiences in socialist revolution and construction since the founding of our state. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee is the guiding ideology of the revision of the Constitution this time. This Draft of the Revised Constitution now clearly reaffirms our adherence to the four basic principles, especially adherence to the two most important principles of party leadership and the socialist path; it prescribes the form of our state as "a socialist state of people's democratic dictatorship based on an alliance between the workers and peasants, led by the working class," pointing out that "in our country, after the exploitative classes as classes are eliminated, class struggle will still remain for a long time in certain realms": it prescribes the socialist system as our fundamental system; it provides that "the basic task of the Chinese people in the coming years is to concentrate their effort on socialist modernization" and, through self-reliance and hard struggle, to gradually build our country into a socialist state with modern industry, modern agriculture, modern national defense and modern science and technology and with a high level of democracy and culture; it provides that, along with the building of an advanced material civilization, we must at the same time build an advanced spiritual civilization, elevate the cultural, scientific, technological, ideological and moral level of all the people; it earnestly provides a series of fundamental rights enjoyed by our citizens which are broader and more genuine than those under the capitalist system; it clearly prescribes the form of our government as one which "practices the principle of democratic centralism," along with which the strengthening of the people's congress system, and fully embodied the interests and wishes of the people of the country's various nationalities in our new historical period of development.

Broadly mobilizing and organizing the people of various nationalities to discuss the Draft of the Revised Constitution demonstrates the superiority of our socialist democracy and socialist legal system. Ours is the Constitution must fully represent the people's will and interests. Only by organizing all the people to discuss the Constitution and ultimately carry out revisions and formally promulgate it on the basis of opinions aired in

the course of the discussion by all the people can the Constitution become the concentrated reflection of the people's will and be implemented thoroughly under the supervision of the masses of the people. The Draft of the Revised Constitution provides: "The people have the right, according to provisions of the law and through various channels and forms, to manage state affairs, economic and cultural affairs, as well as social affairs." Discussing the Draft of the Revised Constitution is no other than a channel and form by which the people exercise this right. This once more illustrates how our people really enjoy democratic rights, and affords at the same time a very good opportunity to administer an education and training in socialist democracy and the legal system to all our people. Through discussion by all the people, we are bound to be able to enhance the people's perception as to the importance of formulating the Constitution and the necessity of abiding by the Constitution, strengthen their conception of our socialist democracy and legal system, and assuredly heighten to a great extent the consciousness of the vast ranks of the cadres and masses of the people in maintaining the dignity of the Constitution and ensuring the implementation of the Constitution.

The people of our entire municipality must immediately take action, follow the request made by the NPC Standing Committee, and carry out serious discussion on the Draft of the Revised Constitution. First of all, we must conscientiously study and read the Draft of the Revised Constitution by going over each chapter, each section, each article and each sentence repeatedly so as to clearly understand its meaning. We should emphatically carry out study and achieve understanding as to the necessity of revising the Constitution this time, the basis for such revision, the basic spirit and basic content of the Draft of the Revised Constitution, its guiding ideology and important provisions on citizens' fundamental rights and duties and the state's political and economic systems, etc. Then, we should use our brains and actively express our opinions as to the revision and possible supplement in the course of the discussion. We must participate in such discussion with the spirit of the master and treasure this sacred right conferred on every citizen by law, speak all we like, so as to pool the wisdom of all. The state organs in our municipality, the armed forces stationed in Shanghai, various party and government organization, people's groups and schools, entrepreneurial units and public agencies, streets, communes and production brigades in the countryside and basic-level units of the like must all attach great importance to and put this work in their respective major agendas. Four months have been arranged for this entire discussion; all units must proceed from the actual situation, organize propaganda and explanation well, do a good job in arranging study and discussion sessions, and do a good job in collecting and summing up opinions. At present, we are very busy with tasks of production and we are also carrying out the struggle against serious criminal activities in the economic realm; leaders at various levels must make proper arrangements. We believe that through this discussion by all the people we are bound to be able to accomplish smoothly our task in revising the Constitution and stimulate a sense of responsibility on the part of the vast ranks of the masses of the people as masters and their swelling political enthusiasm, so as to push a great step forward our various work at present.

People's Congress Standing Committee

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 May 82 p 1

[Report: "The Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee Resolution on Discussing the Draft of the Revised Constitution in Shanghai"]

[Text] The full text of the resolution passed by the 21st Session of the Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee on the discussion in the entire city of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China" is as follows:

The 21st Session of the 7th Shanghai Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee, having preliminarily discussed the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China, and having studied the question of organizing the people of the entire municipality to discuss the Draft of the Revised Constitution according to the spirit of the NPC Standing Committee's "Resolution on Promulgating the 'Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China,'" hereby passes the following resolution:

1. The Constitution is the fundamental law of the state. Guided by the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China" sums up our experiences in socialist revolution and construction during the past 30 years and more, prescribes the fundamental systems and fundamental tasks of the state, and reflects in a concentrated way the will and interests of the people of the country's various nationalities. After extensive and penetrating discussion by the people of the various nationalities, and after submission to the Fifth session of the Fifth National People's Congress for examination and passage, this Draft of the Revised Constitution will become the fundamental law of our state in the new historical period, the behavioral norm of the people of various nationalities across the country, all state organs and people's armed forces, all political parties and social organizations, and all entrepreneurial units and public agencies, and the foundation for realizing the institutionalization of our socialist democracy and carrying out of the construction of our socialist legal system. The NPC Standing Committee has decided to turn over this Draft of the Revised Constitution to the people of the country's various nationalities for discussion; this is a big event in the political life of our people; this is a vivid demonstration of our people exercising their right as masters of the house, and is of very great significance. The people of the entire municipality must take action immediately and actively and conscientiously participate in the activity of discussing the Draft of the Revised Constitution.

2. On the basis of the NPC Standing Committee Resolution, state organs of various levels in our municipality, military units, party organizations, people's groups and schools, entrepreneurial units and public agencies and streets, communes and production brigades and basic-level units of the like must all arrange necessary periods of time from May to August this year on

the premise of broad propagation and ideological mobilization, in order to organize the masses of the people to conscientiously discuss the Draft of the Revised Constitution. Press agencies, broadcasting stations, television stations and propaganda departments of the like shall carry colloquial and easily understandable explanations and introductions as to the necessity and importance of the revision of the Constitution this time, the basic spirit and basic content of the Draft of the Revised Constitution, its guiding ideology, its provisions concerning the state's fundamental systems and fundamental tasks, concerning citizens' basic rights and duties, concerning state organs, etc., so as to further heighten the people's understanding of the important meaning of the discussion on the Draft of the Revised Constitution. Such discussion must bring democracy into full play, let the masses express their respective views and say whatever they wish to say, and let them suggest ideas for revision.

3. This discussion of the Draft of the Revised Constitution shall be organized and carried out by the various systems. All systems, departments, and units must strengthen their leadership over the discussion of the Draft of the Revised Constitution, must appoint a responsible person to preside over this work and designate a definite organ to take concrete responsibility, to seek to understand the situation of the discussion, to gather together the ideas for revision, and thereby report upward level by level within their respective systems, so that, after gathering all of them, the Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee can submit them to the Committee for the Revision of the Constitution.

The people of the entire municipality must conscientiously participate in this discussion and actively submit ideas for revision, in order to make contributions to the further perfection of the Draft of the Revised Constitution. The session believes that, through such discussion by all the people, the consciousness of the people of the whole municipality is bound to be further heightened in respect to their adherence to the four basic principles, their exercise of citizens' rights and duties, and their development of their spirit as masters, and the development of the construction of the city's socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization is bound to be also further promoted.

Propaganda Material

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 28 May 82 p 3

[Article: "Propaganda Material on Discussion of the Draft of the Revised Constitution by All the People--For the Reference of Basic-level Units"]

[Text] The "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China" was passed and promulgated by the 23rd Session of the Fifth NPC Standing Committee on 26 April this year and turned over to the people of various nationalities for discussion. This is a big event in the political life of our people.

Apart from "The Preamble," the Draft of the Revised Constitution includes the four chapters of "General Principles," "Fundamental Rights and Duties of

Citizens," "Structure of the State" and "National Flag, National Emblem and Capital" in 140 articles. It was formulated under the direct leadership of the Party Central Committee after an effort of 1 and a half years was made by the Committee for the Revision of the Constitution to gather extensively the views of various localities, departments, and circles and after serious, careful discussion and repeated revisions; it is a rather well done draft of a socialist constitution suited to China's national conditions. After discussion and modification by the whole nation, and after examination and passage by the National People's Congress, this constitutional draft shall become the fundamental law of the state in our new historical period. The masses of the people in our entire municipality must fully recognize the great significance in discussing the Draft of the Revised Constitution and actively participate in the activity of discussing the constitutional draft.

I. The Significance of the Whole Nation Discussing the Constitutional Draft

From May to August this year, the country's state organs, armed forces, party organizations, people's groups and schools, entrepreneurial units and public agencies and streets, communes and production brigades in the country-side and basic-level organizations of the like must all organize the masses of the people to carry out serious and full discussion of the constitutional draft. Such a large-scale, massive discussion can be undertaken only when our people who have become the masters of their house come to formulate their socialist constitution. The formulation of a constitution in capitalist countries is invariably monopolized by a few people. The formulation of the first written constitution in history, the 1787 Constitution of the United States, was worked out by 55 representatives of exploitative classes in precisely such an exclusive manner (they included 24 bankers, 11 shipowners, and 15 slave owners). They neither needed to, nor could, organize the masses to carry out any discussion, because what it protexsts is the fundamental interests of the bourgeoisie. Our socialist state is entirely different; ours is a state in which the people wield power; ours is a constitution of the people's own, as it embodies the people's basic wishes. The masses of the people actively participating in the discussion of the constitutional draft is a vivid demonstration of our people being masters in their own house, and a fine tradition of our constitutions being formulated in this manner. Our 1954 Constitution was formulated under the personal leadership of Chairman Mao Zedong; at the time, the people of the whole country were organized to carry out a discussion that lasted 3 whole months; more than 739,000 reporters, propagandists, and activists of the masses made reports at hundreds of report meetings and various gatherings on the constitutional draft to the urban and rural people. In many localities, the number of people listening to such reports and participating in such discussions often amounted to 70 percent of all the adults in the local community, and in some cities and localities, this number amounted to more than 90 percent. The ideas and questions for revision and supplement submitted by the people of the whole country numbered more than 1,180,000. As we come to revise our Constitution today, we still need to adopt the method we adopted at the time our first Constitution was formulated by mobilizing extensively the masses of the people to participate in the discussion, so that they can express their respective views, say all they wish to say, and there submit ideas for revision.

The meaning of the masses of the people extensively participating in the discussion of the constitutional draft may be summarized in the following points:

/First, the whole nation discussing the constitutional draft is a reflection that our people really enjoy democratic rights, are masters in their own house, and do manage their state affairs./ All our state power belongs to the people; the people are the masters of the country. The formulation and revision of the Constitution are big events in the political life of the country; they cannot be well accomplished apart from active participation by the masses of the people. The fact that the Draft of the Revised Constitution is turned over to the whole nation for discussion and that further revision will be undertaken on the basis of opinions expressed by various circles is itself a vivid illustration that, in our country, the vast ranks of the people genuinely enjoy the right to manage state affairs. Insofar as each element of the people is concerned, active participation in the discussion of the constitutional draft constitutes precisely the exercise of one's own right as a master of the state.

/Second, the whole nation engaging in discussing the constitutional draft is a prerequisite to having the Constitution reflect the will of the people and making its content more complete and refined./ Our Constitution is the concentrated reflection of the will of the whole nation led by the working class; it is necessary to adopt the method of combining the views of the leading organs with the views of the vast ranks of the masses in order to assure its complete and refined character. The process of the whole nation discussing the constitutional draft is the process of consulting with the people of the entire country as to what kind of general charter for managing the state should be formulated and the process of unifying the will of the whole nation. Among the three Constitutions we have formulated in the past, the 1954 Constitution was relatively complete and refined, and even today many of its articles and provisions are still absorbed by the Draft of the Revised Constitution; one important reason for this is that it underwent discussion by the whole nation and succeeded in pooling our collective wisdom. Limited by historical conditions at the time, neither the 1975 Constitution nor the 1978 Constitution was so complete or refined. Viewed from our own historical experience, discussion by the whole nation is indispensable and very necessary in order to have this Constitution more completely and more refinedly formulated.

/Third, the whole nation engaging in discussing the constitutional draft also constitutes a nationwide popular education on our socialist legal system, which will have a profound and far-reaching influence on the establishment of law-abiding habits and the strengthening of our socialist legal system./ In our country every citizen enjoys the rights provided in the Constitution and by law, but at the same time also has the duty to abide by the Constitution and the law. However, because of the evil consequences of the 10 years of internal turmoil, the concept of respecting the Constitution, abiding by the law, and observing discipline has become diluted among not a few people. Making clear the necessity of respecting the Constitution, abiding by the Constitution, the law, and discipline through discussion of the Draft of the Revised Constitution by the whole nation is bound to greatly heighten the consciousness of the vast ranks of the cadres and masses of the people with respect to maintaining the dignity of the Constitution and guaranteeing

the implementation of the Constitution, to promote a further change in our party workstyle and the people's habits, and to have the practice of observing discipline and abiding by the law prevail throughout the territory of the motherland.

II. What Are the Main Contents of the Draft of the Revised Constitution?

The present Draft of the Revised Constitution was put forward at the end of 1978 under conditions where the country's political and economic situation had undergone tremendous changes pursuant to the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and when the existing Constitution could no longer meet the needs of the prevailing situation. Guided by the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, it sums up more than 100 years of the Chinese people's experience in revolutionary struggle, especially the experience in socialist revolution and socialist construction during the past 30 years and more since the founding of our state, and, on the basis of the four basic principles, provides our fundamental systems and the Chinese people's fundamental tasks today. It is a constitutional draft which is suited to our actual situation today on the one hand, and which looks after our future development, directs the people of the whole country to concentrate their energy on carrying out the construction of our socialist modernization, and thereby guarantees the country's increasing prosperity on the other hand.

The contents of the Draft of the Revised Constitution are very rich, and they are related to the country's politics, economy, science and technology, culture and education, people's livelihood, and foreign policy, etc., etc. When we discuss the constitutional draft, we may propose all kinds of ideas and suggestions for revision, and even questions of semantics can be raised; but we must grasp the principal questions in conducting our penetrating discussions in order to elevate our understanding. Once the principal questions, the fundamental questions, are grasped and clearly understood, other questions would be easier to solve. Which questions are the principal questions we should grasp in our discussion this time?

/ (1) Adherence to socialism, adherence to the people's democratic dictatorship, adherence to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and adherence to CCP leadership: these four basic principles are the overall guiding ideology of the present Draft of the Revised Constitution./

After 1840, our country fell to the status of a semicolonial and semifeudal state; our people became subject to all kinds of oppression and abuse. In more than 100 years of their antiimperialist and antifeudal struggle, all kinds of programs for national salvation proposed by our people ultimately suffered defeat. The 1911 Revolution led by Dr Sun Yat-sen succeeded in repealing the monarchical system and was therefore of great historical significance. But China still failed to cast off its semicolonial and semi-feudal state of existence. The CCP with Comrade Mao Zedong as its leader rose to create the People's Republic of China precisely by summing up such historical experience and lessons, leading the people of the whole country to

carry out a great revolution, and overthrowing the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism. The birth and development of the New China and the important achievements scored in the undertakings of socialist construction serve to illustrate an irrefutable truth: only socialism can save China. The Preamble of the Constitution reaffirms this fundamental historical experience and stresses that the victories of our revolution and undertakings of construction are all achieved by the CCP while leading the Chinese people forward under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. In order to achieve still greater development, our state must continue to insist on taking the four basic principles as our guidance. On this fundamental question, we can absolutely not waver in any way. All expressions and actions in violation of the four basic principles are unconstitutional behavior, and must be resolutely opposed.

Among the four basic principles, the most important ones are adherence to CCP leadership and adherence to the socialist path. Without the CCP, there can be no New China, and it would be impossible to adhere to the socialist path in China; this is a fact known to everybody. Although our party has also made many big and small mistakes, including such a serious mistake as the "cultural revolution," these mistakes made by our party have also been corrected by the party itself. In the meantime, the result of these mistakes being corrected is that the revolutionary cause invariably gains new and greater developments. This indicates that our party deserves to be regarded as a mature Marxist party and deserves to be regarded as a party serving the greatest interests of the greatest majority. Building socialism being such an unprecedentedly great undertaking, it is hardly avoidable that in our march forward along the way we should make this or that kind of mistake. In our practice from now onwards, our party will, together with the Chinese people, continue to adhere to truth, correct its mistakes, and continue to improve and strengthen the party leadership in order to push our socialist cause incessantly forward. Some comrades ask, since party leadership is so important, why is it not included by the Draft in its concrete provisions? This is because party leadership, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought do not belong to the concrete content of the system of state and therefore they are not provided in specific articles but are clearly provided in the Preamble, with the strengthening of the party's leadership role over the state embodied in the articles.

/(2) A socialist state of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants is the form of state of the People's Republic of China./

The so-called form of state refers to the character of the state and the status of the various classes in the state. Our country has a population of 1 billion, of which 100 million are workers and 800 million are peasants. The working class is the country's leading class and the principal force in the construction of the four modernizations. The alliance of workers and peasants is the foundation of our people's democratic dictatorship; without a consolidated alliance of workers and peasants, there would be no broad united front led by the working class, no consolidated People's Republic of China, and it would be impossible to build socialism. The intellectuals are not an independent class; the overwhelming majority of our intellectuals

have already become a part of the working class; there are not a few intellectuals also among the peasants. Therefore, in class relations there is no need to single out the intellectuals; the alliance of workers and peasants itself includes the intellectuals. Under the leadership of the CCP, our country has already formed a broad united front with the participation of various democratic parties and groups and people's organizations, including all socialist laborers, patriots who uphold socialism and patriots who uphold the reunification of the motherland.

Our people's democratic dictatorship is no other than proletarian dictatorship; the two are not different in principle. The people's democratic dictatorship is but a concrete form of the proletarian dictatorship. But this concept of people's democratic dictatorship has been used by us for many years, and hence possesses its Chinese characteristic. Proceeding from our national situation and class conditions, it is more appropriate to state the character of our state as "a socialist state of people's democratic dictatorship"; this serves to deprive those who tend to abuse the concept of proletarian dictatorship of an opportunity to take advantage of it. Although, today, the exploitative classes as a class are already eliminated and our people's democratic dictatorship has become further strengthened, because of domestic factors and external influences, class struggle will remain for a long time in certain realms; we must maintain the functions of our people's democratic dictatorship, resolutely suppress traitorous and counterrevolutionary activities, crack down on criminal activities endangering our social order and security, sabotaging our socialist economy, and the like, and punish and reform elements of criminal offense.

/(3) The socialist system is our fundamental system./

In our country, socialist public ownership of the means of production is the foundation of our socialist economy. The socialist economy based on ownership of the whole people in our country is the dominant force in our national economy. In the countryside, the economy based on collective ownership is the principal form of our economy. Among the trades such as urban handicrafts, repair industries, and service industries, a part of them also belongs to the socialist collective ownership by the toiling masses; it is suited to the level of the development of productive forces in our present stage; it is superior and it is progressive. The individual economies of laborers which exist in our cities and countryside within the legally prescribed categories are a supplement to our economy based on socialist public ownership; in a rather long period of time, they cannot be replaced. A basic principle of Marxism is that the form of ownership of the means of production must be adapted to the level of the development of productive forces, and not necessarily the larger and the more collective, the better. These three forms of economy have their respective kinds of superiority in their specific respective realms; we cannot say that ownership by the whole people is necessarily better than collective ownership, but must carry out concrete analysis in respect to each concrete problem. Today, most of our 800 million peasants still use manual instruments; if their economy is changed into one based on ownership by the whole people, with all of them

given an individual wage, can the state still manage? Similarly, it is also naturally impossible to change the joint enterprises in the case of the railroad and steel industries into a system of collective ownership. Under present circumstances in our country, it will still not be enough to solve the ownership problem for all our 1 billion people if we merely succeed in running our economy well based on ownership by the whole people and our economy based on collective ownership. We must not look down on individual economies, as they are indispensable in enriching our social products and facilitating our people's livelihood in certain realms. By reaffirming the system that accommodates the simultaneous existence of all three forms of economy, the constitutional draft succeeds in eliminating the future aftermath of having to cut the tail of capitalism again. The Draft also provides that our country allow legitimate foreign investment in China and Chinese-foreign economic cooperation. On the basis of self-reliance, and according to the principle of equality and mutual benefit, our effort to utilize foreign capital, import advanced technology, and accelerate the construction of our modernization will prove beneficial.

/(4) Concentrating their effort on carrying out the construction of socialist modernization, creating highly developed productive forces and developing socialist material civilization are the fundamental tasks of our people./

Earnestly handling our production and construction well and improving the level of our scientific and technological development as well as our economic strength are questions with which the people of the whole country are very much concerned. When our economy is not handled well, we can hardly speak of anything else. Ours is a socialist country; it should improve its economic results and produce increasingly varied products so as to satisfy the people's increasing needs in their material and cultural life. After the socialist transformation of the private ownership of our means of production, the party's Eighth Congress immediately decided on the policy to shift the focus of the party's work to economic construction; but, because of interference by "Leftist" ideas, this shift was not realized. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee once more decided on this strategic principle. Today, the Draft of the Revised Constitution again prescribes this strategic principle into the law of the state by clearly providing: "The basic task of the Chinese people in the coming years is to concentrate their effort on carrying out the construction of socialist modernization"; through various approaches the state shall "continue to improve labor productivity and economic results and develop social productive forces." This will have a profound and far-reaching influence on mobilizing the people of the whole country to do a good job in handling the construction of our socialist modernization with one mind and one heart, giving scope to the superiority of the socialist system, and making a go of our national economy. Whosoever interferes with the construction of our socialist modernization for whatever reason would be violating our Constitution and running counter to the interests and wishes of the people of the whole country.

/(5) Creating an advanced socialist spiritual civilization is a longterm task for guaranteeing the building of our material civilization in the socialist direction./

In attempting to carry out the construction of our socialist modernization, we must not only build an advanced material civilization, but also build an advanced spiritual civilization. These two links are closely linked to each other and inseparable; we must grasp both. The realm of socialist spiritual civilization is very broad; apart from the general development of educational, scientific and cultural enterprises and energetic tapping of our intellectual, resources, another aspect that cannot be overlooked is to carry out ideological and moral education in order to enable members of our society to establish increasingly extensively their socialist and communist ideology, moral customs and laboring attitude, to establish lofty ideas and sentiments, lifestyle, and esthetic concepts, to establish a conscious law-abiding spirit and an advanced sense of organization and discipline, to insist that our individual interests and partial interests must be subordinate to our overall interests, and our immediate interests must be subordinate to our long-range interests, and to give scope to our lofty spirit of collectivism, patriotism and internationalism. The Draft of the Revised Constitution provides that the state shall promote the five "loves," that is, love for the motherland, the people, labor, science, and socialist public ethics, and require the people of all nationalities, be they male, female, old or young, to become persons of ideals, moral integrity, discipline, and culture. This will be a great stimulus to the solving of our present problems relating to bad social habits because of spiritual pollution. Our task in carrying out ideological education in socialism and communism is going to be longlasting; we must therefore make assiduous efforts in this regard; everybody, whatever his profession or his position, should be both an educator and a person being educated. Everybody must abide by the provisions of the Constitution by making the maximum contribution possible to the building of our socialist spiritual civilization by our own exemplary conduct.

/(6) Energetically elevate the cultural, scientific and technological level of the whole people and promote the realization of the building of our socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization./

The building of our socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization is the undertaking of hundreds and thousands of the masses of the people; we must organize a vast, powerful army to accomplish it. This should be an army with cultural cultivation and mastery of scientific and technological knowledge. For the sake of realizing the four modernizations, not only will our various trades and professions need large contingents of experts with a cultural level and professional knowledge, but the vast ranks of our working and farming masses must likewise be cultured, conversant with technology, and equipped with the capability to engage in modern production and construction. Therefore, the Draft Constitution provides that the state, while administering a good education in regular schools and training youths and children to engage in the full range of their moral, intellectual and physical development, must at the same time endeavor to develop various cultural and educational measures to carry out political, cultural, scientific, technological, and professional education among workers and peasants, and promote adults to follow the path of acquiring capabilities through self-education. In order to elevate the cultural level of our whole nation, we

must cultivate the habit of carrying out study and adhering to it so that in our country there will be created a good habit of everyone studying to acquire the capabilities for the construction of our four modernizations.

/(7) Insist on the Unity of Citizen's Rights and Duties/

Citizens of our socialist state not only enjoy democratic rights broader and more genuine than those under the capitalist system, but also have broken down the separation of bourgeois rights and duties and achieved the unity of such rights and duties. In capitalist countries, monopolist capitalists enjoy all kinds and forms of rights but perform no or few duties, whereas the vast ranks of the workers, peasants and toiling masses enjoy, or can actually enjoy, no democratic rights, but must shoulder heavy duties. Such separation of rights and duties is a contradiction which the capitalist system cannot solve. In our socialist country, we have, on the other hand, succeeded in putting all citizens on an equal footing before the law, with neither those who only enjoy rights but shoulder no duties, nor those who only shoulder duties but enjoy no rights. The Draft of the Revised Constitution prescribes that citizens' rights and duties are inseparable. Our citizens enjoy the right to equal application of the law, the right to elect and be elected, freedom of expression, the press, assembly, association, procession, and demonstration, freedom of religious beliefs, freedom from encroachment upon the person, freedom from encroachment upon personal dignity, freedom from encroachment upon the residence, freedom of correspondence, the right to criticize and submit proposals, the right to appeal, complain, and expose, the right to labor, the laborers' right to rest, the right to material guarantee by society, the right to education, the right to freely engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural activities, women's right to equality with men, and other fundamental rights of the like. Meanwhile, they are also charged with various duties toward the state and society which they must fulfill. Every citizen enjoys the rights provided by the Constitution and the law on the one hand, and is obliged to perform the duty of abiding by the Constitution and the law on the other hand. Every citizen has the duty to maintain the unity of the state and the unity of the country's various nationalities, to keep state secrets, to protect public property, to abide by labor discipline and public order and to respect civic criteria of society and its fine customs and habits; every citizen must protect the security, honor and interests of the motherland; every citizen has the sacred duty to defend the motherland and resist aggression; every citizen has the duty to perform military service and pay taxes according to law, etc., etc. This unity of rights and duties reflects the unity of the individual interests of the people and state interests as well as the unity of the people's immediate interests and long-range interests.

Adherence to the unity of citizens' fundamental rights and duties is a characteristic and strong point of socialist democracy. Neither grabbing only rights without performing any duties nor damaging public interests and hampering other people's freedoms and rights because of one's own freedoms and rights can be said to be fair. Actually, there have never been any

freedoms and rights in the world which were absolutely not subject to any limitations. Our socialist state guarantees citizens' legitimate freedoms and rights and allows no organization or individual to encroach upon citizens' rights; but whosoever should vainly attempt to take advantage of such freedoms and rights in order to carry out counter-revolutionary activities and other criminal activities encroaching upon social order, production order and work order is absolutely not permitted.

/(8) Organize our state institutions according to the principle of democratic centralism in order to enable the form of our government to become increasingly complete and refined./

The form of government refers to the model according to which various classes choose to organize their own respective organs of political power. Our organs of political power are under the control of the people; they are organized according to the principle of a high degree of centralism on the basis of a high degree of democracy. The many new provisions of the Draft of the Revised Constitution concerning the organs of political power reflect the many new, important developments in the reform of our institutions. Expansion of the power of the NPC Standing Committee and strengthening of its organization serve to facilitate the strengthening of the country's people's congress system and enable it to better exercise the power of combining deliberation with action. The restoration of the installation of a chairman of the People's Republic of China serves to better strengthen our state institutions. Streamlining the organs of the State Council and effecting a premier responsibility system is beneficial to enhancing efficiency in our administrative work. The state being provided with a Central Military Commission further clearly fixes the position of the military units in our state system, and facilitates the strengthening of the building of our armed forces. Putting into practice the appropriate division of power between the central government and local governments helps various localities to adapt to indigenous conditions in order to develop both central and local activisms and thereby accelerate the country's construction. Establishing anew the district political power and effecting a separation between the district government and the commune are beneficial both to our work in strengthening the basic-level political power and to the development of our collective economic organizations. Expanding the autonomy of our nationality autonomous regions and prescribing that nationality personnel who carry out regional autonomy should serve as the heads of political power of our nationality autonomous regions are beneficial to strengthening such nationality regional autonomy and protecting the common prosperity of the whole country and the various nationalities themselves. In a word, all of these provisions help make our fundamental system--the people's congress system--more strengthened and developed. The perfection of the state system, the rational division and efficient exercise of state power will enable our state to lead our socialist cause in its development forward in a more resolute and energetic way than before.

III. Take Action, Actively Participate in the Discussion of the Draft of the Revised Constitution

After the Draft of the Revised Constitution is passed, it will become the fundamental norm of activity for the people of the country's various nationalities, all state organs and people's armed forces, various political parties and social groups, and various entrepreneurial units and public agencies; it will become the foundation for realizing the institutionalization of our socialist democracy and implementing the building of our socialist legal system. Every article in the Draft of the Revised Constitution is closely related to every one of our citizens. On 10 May, the 21st Session of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee passed a resolution to ask the people of the entire municipality to immediately take action and actively and seriously participate in the discussion of the Draft of the Revised Constitution. Every one of our citizens should exercise his democratic rights to actively and seriously participate in the activity of discussing the Draft of the Revised Constitution. Through such discussion, he must not only submit ideas for revision but also understand clearly the meaning of, and the guiding ideology for, revising the Constitution, perceive the fundamental spirit and principal content of the constitutional draft, consolidate his confidence in the socialist cause, strengthen the unity among the people, and generate development in the work of his own department. Meanwhile, through this discussion of the constitutional draft, every citizen must understand what democratic rights he himself has and how to exercise those democratic rights, and also understand what duties he has and how to fulfill those duties, so as to correctly exercise his rights, actively perform his duties, and thereby become a good citizen in name and in deed.

View From Harbin

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Apr 82 p 1

[Report by staff reporter Ren Da [0117 6671]: "The 14th Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee Decides To Conscientiously Organize the People of the Whole Province To Discuss the Draft of the Revised Constitution: the Session at the Same Time Discusses Close Involvement in the Launching of the Crackdown on Serious Criminal Activities in the Economic Realm and Questions of the Like"]

[Text] The 14th Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, which lasted 7 days, finally came to a close in the afternoon of the 28th after studying and discussing the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China."

After study and discussion, this session passed a "Resolution on Conscientious Organization of Discussion on the 'Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China"'; after examination and deliberation, it passed a "Resolution on Implementing the Decision by the CCP Central Committee to Crack Down on Serious Criminal Activities in the Economic Realm," and it also passed the "Regulations Governing the Protection of the Breeding of Water Resources in the Province of Heilongjiang," and decided to begin implementing it on 1 June. The session also gave consent to the report made by the provincial people's government on the situation surrounding the launching

in our province of an "All-Province Civilized Courtesy Month" and views on the next step, and passed certain instances of appointment and dismissal.

Zhao Dezun [6392 1795 1415], chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, presided over the session and gave a speech. He said, the NPS Standing Committee decided to turn the Draft of the Revised Constitution over to the whole nation for discussion and revision; this is a big event in the political life of the people of the various nationalities which indicates that the building of our socialist democracy and socialist legal system has not made further, down-to-earth progress. Through discussion by the whole nation of the Draft of the Revised Constitution, the healthy development of the building of our material civilization and the building of our spiritual civilization is bound to be promoted. While organizing the people of the whole province to hold such discussion, we must adopt various effective measures to keep open all avenues of expression and to let the masses of the people fully express their own views, and thereby fulfill our responsibility and endeavor for the formulation of a scientific, stable, and perfect Constitution.

During the session, the participating committee members and other personnel in attendance also went to the provincial forest and botanical garden to participate in voluntary tree-planting activities.

Deputy chairmen of the provincial people's congress standing committee Lu Guang [7627 0342], Zhang Ruilin [1728 3843 7673], Liu Qian [0491 3383], Wang Peinian [3769 0012 1628], Wang Zhaozhi [3769 5128 3112], Wu Cheng [0702 6134], Sun Ziyuan [1327 1311 3293], and Bo Qing [2672 7230] all attended the session. The deputy governors of the province Jie Yunqing [6043 0061 7230] and Li Rui [2621 3834], president of the provincial superior court Zhao Yunpeng [6392 0061 7720], acting procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate Yu Jian [0060 2256] and responsible comrades of concerned departments of the provincial people's congress and provincial government as well as the standing committees of county people's congresses also present at the session.

Resolution by the Fifth People's Congress Standing Committee of the Province of Heilongjiang on Conscientiously Organizing the Discussion of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China (Passes by the 14th Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee on 28 April 1982)

The 23rd Session of the NPC Standing Committee passed a resolution on the promulgation of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China" and decided to turn the Draft of the Revised Constitution over to the people of the country's various nationalities for discussion; this is a big event in our people's political life, and also an important propagandist and educational activity in our democracy and legal system. In order to organize well this study and discussion, a special resolution is hereby passed as follows:

1. The province's state organs at various levels, military units, party organizations, people's groups and schools, entrepreneurial units and public

agencies, and streets, communes and production brigades in the countryside, and basic-level units of the like must all comply with the requirement of the resolution of the NPC standing Committee by properly arranging necessary time according to their own respective working and production situations in order to organize the discussion by the people of various nationalities of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China." While organizing the masses to generally discuss the revision, various localities must at the same time select representative key units and organize forums that are attended by concerned departments and concerned personalities in order to carry out penetrating and careful study and discussion, and suggest ideas for revision.

2. Proposed ideas for the revision of the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China" shall be gathered together by municipal and county people's congress standing committees and commissions and offices under the direct jurisdiction of the province, various party organizations and people's groups, and submitted to the provincial people's congress standing committee. In order that such ideas of the whole province can be gathered for submission to the State Committee for the Revision of the Constitution before the end of August, various localities and departments must make a report before the end of July and another report before the end of August.

Four Basic Principles, Constitution

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 12 May 82 p 3

[Article by Guo Fan [0948 5400]: "The Four Basic Principles Are the General Guiding Ideology for the Revision of the Constitution"]

[Text] The NPC Standing Committee has promulgated the "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China" and turned it over to the people of the country's various nationalities for discussion; this is a big event in the political life of our state. This Draft, after study and discussion by the whole nation and after formal passage by the National People's Congress, will become a solemn, stable fundamental law of the people of our country, with supreme legal effect in the new historical period, the behavioral norm of the people of the country's various nationalities, all state organs and the people's armed forces, all political parties and social groups, and all entrepreneurial units and public agencies, and the foundation of our socialist democracy and socialist legal system. Therefore, we must, under the leadership of the party, actively participate in the discussion of the Draft of the Revised Constitution in order to jointly do a good job in revising and formulating this fundamental law of our state.

Then, what is the guiding ideology that the revision of our Constitution should follow? It can only be the four basic principles. Taking the four basic principles as the guiding ideology for revising the Constitution is not something suggested at random here but, rather, a summing up of our historical experience in the past 100 years or so. In the 20th century, our country has undergone the greatest changes in our history. Four most important events are listed in the Preamble of the Draft of the Revised Constitution. One is the revolution of 1911 led by Dr Sun Yat-sen; the

second is the overthrow of the three big mountains and the establishment of the People's Republic of China; the third is our elimination of the exploitative system that had lasted for several thousand years and establishment of the socialist system; and the fourth is that after the hard struggles in the 30 years since the founding of our state, our economic construction has achieved important successes and basically formed an independent, relatively complete industrial system and a national economic system. Of these four events, only the revolution of 1911 was led by Dr Sun Yat-sen, and the results of the revolution were unfortunately usurped by reactionary forces. The other three events were all accomplished under the leadership of the CCP and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Party leadership, guidance by Marxism -Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, are thus the magic weapons by which the Chinese people achieved their turn-over and liberation, and the Chinese socialist revolution and enterprises of construction have continued to march toward new victories. This is a truth proved by repeated tests of our practice in prolonged revolutionary struggle. Similarly, our historical experience has also proved that only socialism can save China and guarantee that our country will continue to march toward prosperity and strength, and only by adherence to people's democratic dictatorship can we build a socialist power with advanced democracy and an advanced civilization and an indispensable path leading to the high stage of communism. The Draft of the Revised Constitution affirms in its Preamble all these fundamental historical experiences, and clearly provides that the Chinese people will continue, under the leadership of the CCP and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, to adhere to people's democratic dictatorship and adhere to the socialist path; this serves to point out the direction of our work from now onwards.

In adhering to the four basic principles, the most important is to adhere to party leadership and the socialist path. In order to adhere to the socialist path, we must adhere to party leadership, and whether or not we can adhere to party leadership depends mainly on whether or not we can adhere to the socialist path.

Experience of many years proves that in order to adhere to the socialist path we must not only establish an advanced socialist political system, but also continue to perfect a socialist economic system; we must not only build an advanced spiritual civilization, but also build an advanced material civilization. Proceeding precisely from this point of view, Article 1 of the Draft of the Revised Constitution prescribes: "The People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. The socialist system is the basic system of the People's Republic of China. Sabotage of the socialist system by anyone in any form is prohibited." Because the socialist system and the people's democratic dictatorship are our basic systems, they permeate throughout the text of the Draft and become the foundation of all other systems. The Draft affords concrete prescriptions as to how our country is to adhere to the socialist path in the political, economic, and cultural realms and in various aspects of our social life. In order to build an advanced socialist spiritual civilization, the Draft adds

not a few articles about how to carry out ideological and moral education and develop educational, scientific and cultural enterprises. The Draft states that "the basis of the economic system of the People's Republic of China is socialist public ownership of the means of production, that is, ownership by the whole people, and collective ownership by the working masses"; it provides that "the state sector of the economy, that is, the socialist sector owned by the whole people, is the dominant force in the national economy," "the state carries out a planned economy on the basis of socialist public ownership." In respect to state organs and reform of the state structure, the provisions of the Draft also all adhere to the socialist principle of democratic centralism, and embody the socialist character of our country's social system and state system. Because socialism takes highly developed productive forces as its material foundation, the Draft provides that the basic task of the Chinese people in the coming years is to concentrate their effort on socialist modernization, whereas the state through various approaches "continues to improve labor productivity and economic results and develop social productive forces."

Adherence to party leadership is the core of adherence to the four basic principles. The CCP is the vanguard of the working class armed by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and the organizer and leader of the enterprises of the Chinese people's revolution and construction. The purpose of our party is to wholeheartedly serve the people; the party's interests and the people's interests are entirely consistent with each other; all power belonging to the people and adhering to party leadership are also entirely consistent with each other. Because party leadership, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are not part of the concrete content of the state system, they are therefore not prescribed in the articles, but are nonetheless clearly provided in the Preamble. In doing so, the Draft of the Revised Constitution by no means ignores the party's leadership role, but demonstrates precisely the way the party leads the state. Party leadership is exercised mainly in guiding the major principles, policies and ideology of the state; the Draft of the Revised Constitution proceeds from the actual situation of our country and takes as its guide the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, pays full attention to the basic experience in our socialist revolution and construction in the past 30 years and more, and thereby prescribes the basic system of our state and various fundamental questions in our social life; it also adds not a few new contents in various aspects, and thereby reflects the party's policies. This serves precisely to uphold the party's leadership. In exercising leadership over the life of the state, the party by no means does so through administrative edicts; rather, it does so through the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, through the correct principles and policies it itself suggests, through the role of its own members and cadres in state organs and other organizations, and through ideological and political education among the vast ranks of the masses, close links with the masses, and such avenues. Our Constitution and laws are the unity of the party's policies and the will of the people; abiding by the Constitution and laws formulated by the people under the leadership of the party constitutes precisely a form of adhering to the realization of party leadership.

View From Shenyang

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 5 May 82 p 4

[Article by Cui Liwen [1508 4539 2429]: "The Format of the Constitution"]

[Text] Although the contents of constitutions are generally similar, because the historical characteristics and cultural traditions of various countries as well as the degrees of cultivation on the part of the drafters in various aspects are different, the formats of constitutions are considerably different.

The great difference in terms of format is that some constitutions have written codes while others have no such codes. The former are called written constitutions while the latter are called unwritten constitutions. A written constitution generally consists of a single constitutional document; some individual cases also consist of several constitutional documents together. The 1787 Constitution of the United States and the 1791 Constitution of France are the earliest written constitutions consisting of single constitutional documents respectively. The Constitution of the Third Republic of France, on the other hand, is a written constitution that consists of three constitutional documents. These three constitutional documents are: "Organic Law of the Senate," "Organic Law of the Regime of the State," and "Law on the Interrelationship Between the Organs of State Power." Unwritten constitutions are often made up of general laws and precedents. The British Constitution is a typical example of unwritten constitution; it consists of the 1628 "Petition for Rights," the 1679 "Bill of Habeas Corpus," the 1701 "Law on Succession to the Throne," and other such legal documents passed during various periods and precedents of courts and the Parliament. Among the world's more than 100 constitutions today, more than 90 percent of them are written constitutions; unwritten ones are rare.

The structures of written constitutions also differ from each other. This is mainly reflected in: 1) The constitutions of some countries have a preamble, while those of others do not. The content of such a preamble usually records the history of struggle of the given country and the achievements it has already obtained, establishes the purpose of founding the state, points out the goals the state seeks to strive for, determines the basic principles for state activities and the purpose of formulating the constitution, etc., etc. Contents of this sort are usually hard to embody in the specific articles of the constitution; it is more convenient to express them in the preamble. Of course, whether or not a constitution has a preamble is not something that follows any fixed rule; it is usually based on the needs of the state formulating it, and it is usually determined after referring to foreign experiences and balancing between pros and cons. 2) The order and sequence of the constituent parts of a constitution are also different. The constitutions of most countries arrange "citizens' fundamental rights and duties ahead of "state structure"; but those of a few countries also arrange "citizens' fundamental rights and duties" behind "state structure." Among those countries whose constitutions arrange "citizens' fundamental rights and duties" behind "state structure" are: in Asia, China, Burma, and

Mongolia; in Africa, Guinea, Kenya; in Europe, Poland, Hungary, Norway and Ireland. 3) The constitutions of some countries include amendment, while those of others do not. An amendment section means that the constitutions of some countries seek to revise their constitutions by adopting the method of partial revision; that is, the original constitutions are preserved but only part of their contents are revised or new contents are added and attached at the end of these constitutions; these contents through revision or addition are called amendments (or modifications). The current Constitution of the United States has 26 amendments; the current Constitution of Algeria has 14 articles of amendment. Countries whose constitutions incorporate such amendments are in the minority. Most countries revise their constitutions by adopting the method of total revision; that is, the original constitutions are discarded and new constitutions are formulated. Hence, the constitutions of these countries usually do not have any amendments.

Besides, in the case of written constitutions, the degrees of brevity or complexity are also different. The constitutions of some countries have more numerous articles, and their texts are rather long; those of others have rather few articles and their texts are rather short.

View From Jinan

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 13 May 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Conscientiously Study and Discuss Our Fundamental Law for the New Era"]

[Text] The "Draft of the Revised Constitution of the People's Republic of China," through a resolution by the 23rd Session of the Fifth National People's Congress Standing Committee, has been turned over to the people of the various nationalities for discussion. This is a big event in the political life of our people. Party and government leaders at various levels throughout the province should mobilize and organize all the people to conscientiously study and discuss this fundamental law of our new era.

This Draft of the Revised Constitution has been formulated by the Committee for the Revision of the Constitution on the basis of the resolution of the Third Session of the Fifth National People's Congress on revising the Constitution and the establishment of the Committee for the Revision of the Constitution after extensively soliciting the views of various regions, departments, and circles for a long period under the guidance of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State," passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and summing up our experience of socialist revolution and construction during the past 30 years and more. The contents of this Draft of the Revised Constitution are very rich; its significance is also very great. It summarizes to a great extent the history of the assiduous and great struggles of our people, fully embodies the new, important achievements scored in our various work in returning to order from disorder since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and reaffirms the direction of our continued reforms; it clearly prescribes the socialist system as the

basis system of our state, reaffirms our adherence to the four basic principles, especially adherence to party leadership and adherence to the socialist path; it reiterates the form of our state as "a socialist state of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants," explicates the present situation that "in our country, after the exploitative classes as classes are eliminated, class struggle will continue to exist for a long time in certain realms," provides that "the basic task of the Chinese people in the coming years is to concentrate their effort on socialist modernization," and embodies the strategic principle of shifting the focus of our work to the construction of our socialist modernization; it emphasizes that while building an advanced material civilization, we must at the same time build an advanced spiritual civilization and take it as a long-range historical task; it continues to reaffirm the practice of the principle of democratic centralism as the form of our government, and provides clear prescriptions concerning citizens' basic rights and duties. After extensive and penetrating discussion and submission to the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress for examination and passage, this Draft of the Revised Constitution will become our fundamental law in the new historical period, the basic behavioral norm of the people of the country's various nationalities, all state organs and the people's armed forces, all parties and social groups, all entrepreneurial units and public agencies, and the foundation of the institutionalization of our socialist democracy and the building of our socialist legal system; therefore, it is bound to forcefully promote the building of our material civilization and spiritual civilization.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The Constitution is a general charter, a fundamental law." The reason it is a fundamental law is because it not only guides and restrains the thinking and behavior of the people of the whole country and becomes the behavioral norm and program of the people of the whole country, but is also the foundation of all concrete laws. In our country, the people are the masters of the state; all power belongs to the people. Ours is the Constitution of 1 billion people. Every article of this Constitution fully reflects the will of the people and represents the interests of the people. Our mobilization of all the people to conscientiously study and discuss the Draft of the Revised Constitution not only reflects the superiority of our socialist democracy and socialist legal system, but is also the most practical enforcement of every citizen's rights and duties. The Draft of the Revised Constitution provides: "The people have the right to manage state affairs, manage its economic and cultural enterprises, and manage social affairs through various means and forms according to provisions of the law." Discussing the Draft of the Revised Constitution is the best way and form for the people to exercise this right, and it also indicates how our people really enjoy democratic rights. Through our study and discussion, the Constitution will be made more solid and complete and refined on the one hand, on the other hand all the people are also given an education in our socialist democracy and legal system, and everybody's concept of such socialist democracy and legal system becomes further strengthened so that all the people really are turned into citizens with ideals and moral integrity who abide by discipline and consciously protect our Constitution.

All the people in the province must take strong action and engage themselves in the discussion of the Draft of the Revised Constitution chapter by chapter, section by section, and article by article. With respect to the necessity and basis for this revision of the Constitution, the basic content and spirit of the Draft of the Revision, its guiding ideology and important provisions on citizens' basic rights and duties, the political and economic systems of the state, etc., we must get every household well informed and everybody clearly apprised. In the course of the discussion, we must demonstrate our spirit as masters, treasure the sacred right the law confers on every citizen of ours, be serious and responsible, say all we wish to say, and fully air our respective views. Party committees at various levels should take the organization of all the people to discuss the Draft of the Revised Constitution as a major current political task and list it in their important agenda and earnestly strengthen their leadership pertaining thereto. All organs, groups, schools, entrepreneurial units and public agencies should proceed from their actual situation, organize well their time schedule and methods for propagation, study and discussion, and do a good job in gathering together the different opinions. In conducting such discussions, we must pay attention to practical results and never just pursue formalities; we must neither do them with excessive fanfare, nor throw up our hands and pay no attention to them. At present, the industrial and agricultural tasks in our province are tremendous; the resistance against drought and "two guarantees" in the countryside cannot be delayed for even a single moment, whereas the struggle to crack down on serious criminal activities in the economic realm is just being launched in a deepening way, and hence there are many things to do and our tasks are heavy. Leaders at various levels must properly and rhythmically arrange their various work and not "singlemindedly concentrate on just one thing." They should be good at combining the constitutional discussion with other work in an organic way. Through such discussion, they should provoke a high degree of political enthusiasm and sense of responsibility on the part of the vast ranks of the party members, cadres, and masses of the people, and promote the smooth development of various work.

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PARTY AND STATE

ATTENTION TO PROTECTING 'PEOPLE OF TALENT' DEEMED NECESSARY

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 May 82 p 4

[Article by Gan Feng [2413 6912]: "Pay Special Attention to Protecting People of Talent"]

[Text] People of talent are the most precious wealth of a country. The question of protecting people of talent is worth the attention of the entire society and attaching great importance to it.

"Tall trees in the woods will be destroyed by the wind; the mounds stretching beyond the bank of a river will be washed out by rush currents; and men of sterling character will be wronged by others." Is not this a law in the course of the growth of people of talent? I dare not say that, but undoubtedly it is quite commonplace. Ours is a socialist country under the leadership of the Communist Party which has opened up an unlimited vast world to cultivate people of talent. However, still we can see from time to time there are circumstances under which people of talent are "destroyed" or "wronged."

A person of mediocre abilities can happily enjoy eating out of the common pot. However, one who is resolved to have some accomplishments will be faced with criticisms of one kind or another. Especially propaganda and reports made for a particular person of talent may sometimes simply result in stirring up a hornet's nest. When referring to such a situation, some comrades often become vehement with bitter hatred.

A poem written by Du Fu reads: "Can we have thousands and thousands of mansions to house the poverty-stricken people all over the world in order to please them and make them feel as secure as mountains which never waver in the storm!" It would be very nice if we could utilize the influential public opinion of society and the laws of the state to build thousands and thousands of "mansions" to protect people of talent!

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, many people with lofty ideals and breadth of vision, in order to implement the lines, principles and policies of the party, have been marching in the vanguard of the times under the leadership of the party. As they are determined to carry out reforms, they have achieved encouraging successes.

Yet, historical experience proves that it is inevitable that those who are resolved to carry out reforms will offend some people. However, due to given conditions of one kind or another, it is impossible to make reforms perfect in a short period of time; and in view of the fact that new situations are emerging continuously, certain shortcomings and mistakes can hardly be avoided. These are the facts which often give certain people opportunities to exploit and it is the reason why criticisms of one kind or another emerge in endless streams. Deliberate obstructions and envy, like an invisible net, encircle us from all directions. In addition, almost everything is complex all over the world. In the current of the times, people of all descriptions have flocked to join in, therefore, it is inevitable that the waters have become muddied and the bad mixed with the good. Under the banner of "reform," of course, there are people who are sinful (undoubtedly toward these people we must heighten our vigilance and severely punish them). Under such circumstances, some people may attempt to obscure the eyes of others and splash the slops on comrades who have resolved to reform, at a time when some of the leading bodies in this complicated situation cannot distinguish clearly between right and wrong. At present, this is the reason why many outstanding middle-aged and young people of talent feel confined.

How to distinguish clearly between right and wrong, support and protect the good comrades who are determined to reform under the leadership of the party, and to guard vigilantly against and punish the evildoers under the banner of "reform" is a question of extreme importance confronting us.

To maintain close ties between the party and the masses and to expose evil-doers and evil deeds through letters criticizing mistakes in our work is an important measure to improve our work and to solidify people's democratic dictatorship. At the same time, we must soberly remember that some people want to utilize this channel to lodge a false accusation against another to give vent to personal spite. If the comrades of our leading bodies are biased, they can be taken in. As a result, they dare not trust and support, nor boldly make use of nor select those who deserve it. Delay after delay, when facts have been cleared, it will be too late to make up for lost time and the work that would otherwise have been done! Some comrades may even be made a "scapegoat" for this reason.

Is it possible to work out some measures to deal with those who lodge false accusations? I feel that there are at least three possible ways:

First, we should not be bothered by letters of complaint. Problems do not exist as to things that have not yet been investigated or verified, therefore, we should trust and support those who deserve it, boldly make use of those who are entitled to it, and select those who are qualified. After a case has been cleared, we should handle a question as it is and not invert the process of handling problems.

Second, it is necessary to adopt proper means whenever possible; to meet with the one in person if his name is mentioned in a letter of complaint in order to hear the appeal of the accused.

Third, those who have been proved to be guilty of spreading false accusations should serve a sentence corresponding to their crimes. In a word, it is necessary to integrate letters protecting the masses and reject retaliations with false accusations which harbor ulterior motives.

"It takes 10 years to grow trees, but a hundred to rear people." For the purpose of protecting forests, we have the forest protection law; for protecting people of talent, it seems necessary for the state to consider formulating a law to protect them. The organization and personnel departments as well as the discipline inspection and political and legal departments should all take up the work of protecting people of talent as an important task of their own. We must do our very best to heighten our vigilance against those who are hidden in order to block the way to strike a "staggering blow."

People of talent can be found everywhere and heroes rise from rapids. Once we can find reasonable measures of one kind or another for selecting and protecting people of talent, large numbers of middle-aged and young people of talent will definitely rally together in our beautiful land.

9560
CSO: 4005/892

PARTY AND STATE

REASONS GIVEN FOR CHANGES IN SANMING CITY

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jun 82 p 3

[Article: "What Has the Transformation in Sanming City Shown?"]

[Text] Bureaucracy and the work style of a yamen exist to a serious degree in some organizations and have been termed a "stubborn illness that is difficult to cure." The series of reports on Sanming City carried in today's paper convincingly show that even though it is a "stubborn illness," all one needs is a good "prescription" and it can be healed.

Sanming City is a new city built following liberation, which sustained serious damage during the 10 years of turmoil. Under the guidance of the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, after several years of renovation great changes have taken place on the face of this city. The main reasons lie in the Sanming City leadership team adherence to the purpose of serving the people, opposing a bureaucratic work style, reviving the fine traditions of the party, strictly observing discipline, overcoming unhealthy phenomena, and improving work efficiency, with the result that many things that should have been done and could have been done were done quite well.

The difficulty in the "stubborn illness that is difficult to cure" lies in some leadership cadres shrinking at the sight of difficulties, wanting only to stand pat, not daring to perform surgery, looking here and looking there, shilly-shallying, and lacking revolutionary vigor and courage. An attitude of no waves on "stagnant water," as though all is serene and well, results in many "urgent, difficult, and new" problems that might have been solved at the outset continuing to drag on without solution, many very good opportunities being wasted. In industrial and agricultural production it is necessary to pay attention to economic benefits, so why should not government organizations pay attention to improved work efficiency? Why is it that in some government organizations "passing the buck" and "arguing about trifles" flourish so much? And why do situations of "many people doing nothing" and "much thunder but little rain" drag on and on, and be so hard to change? Admittedly, this situation relates to the system of organization not being all it should be, but affliction with the chronic disease of bureaucratism cannot be other than a very important reason as well.

In our building of a material civilization and a spiritual civilization, the tasks are onerous and a hundred and one things have to be done. By being like the comrades in Sanming City with ideals, work zeal, doing jobs speedily and vigorously, giving attention to work methods, and absorbing other people's good experiences, we will be fully able to create great and glorious achievements such as have never before been seen.

9432
CSO: 4005/966

PARTY AND STATE

SCRUPULOUS BEHAVIOR IN OFFICIAL CONDUCT STRESSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Guo Chang (0948 2490]: "Feeling Good After Disgorging Ill-Gotten Gains"]

[Text] During the past several months some people have mailed their own ill-gotten gains to newspapers or to a party discipline inspection organization. In their letters they criticize their own error and ask that the cash or the deposit book "be turned over to the country," and "be returned to the people." Statistics show that during the past year the Shanghai MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND THE LEGAL SYSTEM] has received more than 23,000 yuan, and that Guangzhou's YANGCHENG WANBAO [YANGCHENG EVENING NEWS] has received more than 10,000 yuan in only 4 months.

The ways in which people took these ill-gotten gains were not entirely the same in character. In some cases it was corruption and the taking of bribes; other cases involved so-called "bonuses for promoting sales," or "fees for handling procedures." In the cases of bribe taking and corruption, realizing one's errors and correcting errors through real actions was the right thing to do. Acceptance of "bonuses for promoting sales," or "fees for handling procedures," cannot be considered criminal conduct but rather an unhealthy tendency. Some comrades learned a lesson as a result of the campaign to attack economic criminals. They realized that these were also ill-gotten gains and consciously turned them over, which is particularly praiseworthy.

In some people's view, "bonuses for sales promotion," and "fees for handling procedures" were given at the initiative of other units, so if someone else has such a "custom," which seems perfectly justifiable, taking a little something is all right. Actually, such is not the case. "A single hole can lead to the collapse of a 1,000 li dike," and "smoke from a little crack" can burn down a "100 chi building." Acceptance of some ill-gotten gains also opens a gap in one's ideology, which if not closed, may become bigger and bigger. Unhealthy economic tendencies, though different from economic crimes, are not separated by an unbridgeable chasm. Some of today's criminal elements did not dare criminal activities at the outset. It was simply that as a result of their intention to make some private gain that their ideology became lax and they came to view ill-gotten gains as gains they deserved. They supposed that "taking a little was all right," but the amount gradually

mounted and their courage became increasingly great until finally they degenerated into criminals in society. This was the case involving corruption by Xie Jinyu [6200 6930 7411] that was recently tried in Shanghai. In the course of signing agreements with a production team, he got a "wage" and "expenses for materials." Having tasted the "sweetness," his appetite grew larger. Finally he became corrupt, swindling more than 43,000 yuan. During the Tang dynasty, Lu Zhi said, "A little benefit can cause great damage." Every person who vows to keep himself free from taint must watch little places; he positively cannot allow any bit of ill-gotten gains to open a gap in his ideology or moral fiber.

The handing over of ill-gotten gains by these comrades was the result of their having launched active ideological struggle. A "stalwart" young member of the CCP in Hangzhou said in his letter that he originally supposed that to take "sales promotion bonuses" was a "legal compensation for services rendered." Subsequently as a result of ideological study, he realized that to accept such "bonuses," "revealed his own selfish and confused thoughts, forgetting that he was a member of the CCP." As a result he "hated himself." He thereupon made up his mind to turn over to the national treasury the more than 1,000 yuan that he had received from time to time by way of showing his own "contriteness." Such conscientious dissection of self, and spirit of daring to correct mistakes is very precious. Some people do not place severe enough demands upon themselves and float along with the waves for a time. However, if everyone dared to change as this "stalwart" comrade did, they would be good comrades. Even those who have taken the road of economic criminals can, if their actions show genuine contrition, be welcomed by the party and the people.

Once ill-gotten gains have been disgorged, one feels good. Once these comrades had turned over their ill-gotten gains, they certainly felt relieved of a heavy burden and were eased in mind. What they turned over was a sum of money, but what they received was an uplift in their realm of thought, which is more precious than money. This is like getting an inoculation; henceforth their ability to deal with capitalist ideological corrosion and unhealthy tendencies will be stronger.

9432
CSO: 4005/966

PARTY AND STATE

NEED FOR LEADERS TO LEAD underscored

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Zhang Yuwen [17285124 3306]: "Leaders Taking the Lead"]

[Text] Recently newspapers have carried accounts of how some advanced persons have dared to take the lead in protecting national property and have dared to struggle against bad people and misconduct, the reading of which have been inspiring. They have also made people think of a matter worth discussing, namely the matter of leadership by leadership cadres at all levels.

Admittedly it is important that people in general dare to come forward to lead, but leadership by leadership cadres is particularly important. This is because of the positions they occupy. Though a position of leadership does not confer wisdom on people; it has a fairly great influence on people. For better or for worse, every action can produce tremendous consequences. A distant example was during the Yan'an period when Comrade Mao Zedong personally cleared land, when Comrade Zhu De personally carried manure, and when comrades Zhou Enlai and Ren Bi personally spun thread, which promoted, to an extremely great extent, the development of a great production movement. A recent example is leadership cadres from top to bottom taking the lead in planting trees and in cleaning up environmental sanitation, which have had the effect of arousing the entire country. These are influences for the better. In the case of those for the worse, the change from such a good social atmosphere during the 1950's to a social atmosphere that is so poor today, with the entertainment of guests and the sending of gifts in return for official favors, using connections for backdoor deals, making much ado about weddings and funerals, and even corruption and embezzlement, offering and receiving bribes, opportunism and fraud, smuggling and illicit deals etc, which have become common occurrences, are also very much related to people who occupy leadership positions not having provided good leadership or having provided bad leadership. The leadership of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" destroyed the fine work style of our party. Granted that it is not necessary to say that this was because they were enemies; nevertheless, the "gang of four" were pulverized only to have yet some other unconscientious leadership cadres who failed to live up to expectations also play a destructive role. Among the big and important criminal cases in the economic field that have been exposed, were there any in which leaders were not involved? People say,

"If the upper beam is not straight, the lower beam will go aslant," and there is a certain amount of truth in this.

Leadership by leaders has yet another characteristic that is different from that of the masses, namely that once a person is in a position of leadership there is no way to evade the consequences of leadership. It goes without saying that whether good or bad one's words and deeds play a leadership role. Even if one says and does nothing, an effect will be produced and a definite leadership role played. For example, withdrawal in the face of conflicts and saying neither yea nor nay in any expression of attitude, winking at bad people and misdeeds, failure to support or give praise to good people and good deeds, being equivocal about everything and landing on one's feet no matter how things turn out, and though not doing anything bad neither being willing to do anything good: do not such actions produce certain adverse effects? Whenever such people are in positions of leadership, organization will be loose, ideology lax, liberalism rampant, and bad people and misdeeds sprouting everywhere. In short, when one is in a leadership position, one should take up a leadership role. Whether providing good leadership, bad leadership, or liberalist leadership, whether one desires it or not, there are always effects produced by such leadership on the part of leaders, and this is also termed transfer without human will.

Leadership by leaders has yet a third feature that differs from that of the masses. Struggles against unhealthy tendencies, bad persons and misdeeds is a matter, as far as the general run of the masses is concerned, of really "daring or not daring" inasmuch as one must face the pressures of satire and ridicule or suffer attacks and revenge seeking. For leadership cadres, though it is also a matter (as above) of "daring or not daring," mostly it is a matter of "willingness or unwillingness." That is because leadership cadres are people who possess a certain amount of authority, and furthermore, all they need do is rely on the masses and they will be able to gain the support of a great number of people. In other words, if you practice strict self-control, behave as a model and carry forward the party's fine work style, what is there to fear? If you take the lead in carrying out the "regulations," occupy an official post untainted by corruption, and stand off attacks by sugar-coated bullets, what is there to fear? So the essence of the problem is "willingness or unwillingness:" willingness or unwillingness to live up to the oath one took when entering the party, willingness or unwillingness to sacrifice individual interest, and willingness or unwillingness to pay attention to the mutterings, requests, entreaties and pleas of one's wife, children, or close friends. For some old comrades it is also a question of willingness or unwillingness to uphold integrity in their later years. Every comrade in position of leadership should dare to face squarely the unavoidable fact that leaders lead. They should conscientiously and bravely provide good leadership in every realm. They should realize that when leaders give good leadership, the masses have zeal and our efforts have hope!

9432
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PARTY AND STATE

COMPLAINTS MADE AGAINST TOO MANY CHIEFS, TOO FEW INDIANS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 May 82 p 8

[Article by Mu Fu [4476 1133]: "Let the Monks Carry Water"]

[Text] A unit's leadership team can be as few as 3 or 5 people or as many as 10 or more. One measure of strength plus one measure of strength equals two measures of strength. Even a child can figure that. But when it comes to a unit's leadership team, the answer you get to this calculation may be a negative number.

Among the 3 or 5, or 10 or more leadership cadres, there must be one who takes charge and the other deputies each have their share of the work. But in some units, in fact, there are no big and small deputies, no one can take charge, and yet all want the one in charge to have the final say. The one in charge often has very little contact with various aspects of actuality, isn't an expert, nor can he say, "I will sign for it, you take the responsibility." They can't have a squabble, so they have a meeting. A question the size of a sesame seed cannot be resolved in 10 days or 2 weeks.

Below the level of the ting or ju leadership team there is also the chu and the shi leadership team, and that's another crowd. How can the work get done? This is the situation: some deputy ting chief cannot go to a deputy chu chief through his speciality, but can only go through the ting chief. The ting chief also can only work through the general chu chief. If you don't do things according to "organizational procedure" you are said to be "exceeding your authority" and this is bad for "unity." Below the chu chief there are section chiefs and deputy section chiefs and that's yet another crowd, and they do things the same way. In addition, there is layer upon layer of meetings. Everyone is really very busy, so busy they only have time to read documents, but not time to study and research them; they only have time to listen to reports, but not time to research the situation or problems reflected in the reports. Here the formula $1+1=2$ does not fit; the appropriate formula is $1+1=-2$.

What's the problem? Too many monks. You only see monks quibbling, you don't see monks carrying water. If you're handing out theater tickets or going to a banquet, hands reach out from all sides, they really go right into action. But as soon as you ask who is going to resolve a problem, the hands all disappear.

The problem is clearly that there are too many monks. If you can really divide up the responsibility, there will be jobs and responsibilities: the monks who are supposed to carry water will carry water, and if there's no water you hit their butts; the monks who are supposed to cook rice cook rice, and if the rice isn't done, you hit their butts. Moreover, the chief monk who is in charge of carrying water and directs and mobilizes all the little novices who carry water and the chief monk in charge of cooking rice directs and mobilizes all the little novices who cook rice; it's not complicated at all. But according to "organizational procedure," the monk in charge of carrying water should mobilize the monks who carry water but must also go through the monks who manage the membership rolls. The monks in charge of carrying water do not have the right to manage the novices who carry water, otherwise they are "exceeding their authority," the monks who manage the membership rolls will not agree to it. As a result, all you see are monks quibbling and not monks carrying water. Regardless of the size of the temple, wherever there is low efficiency, no water and much quibbling, it is all because of this problem.

Cadres always have those they want to promote, and their rate is much higher than cadre retirement and natural attrition. Thus sections, chiefs, chu chiefs, ting chiefs...chiefs and deputy chiefs increase in numbers daily. More people do not necessarily do things better. Once you become a "chief," you are always busy making circles and attending meetings. Those who used to be good at carrying water do not carry water any more; their jobs now are to tell others to carry water. So those who do not do actual work become more numerous and those who quibble become more numerous, too.

It seems that streamlining a structure is not purely a matter of reducing personnel and layers of administration. There is also the matter of being able to get everyone moving, have each fulfill his responsibility and each attend to his own duties, and not a matter of only drinking water but not carrying it. This isn't anything new, but it's worth reconsidering.

(Reprinted from YANGCHENG WANGBAO, 4 Feb 82)

8226
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PARTY AND STATE

'OLD' RELATIONSHIPS, 'NEW' RELATIONSHIPS DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 8

[Article by Li Mingtian [2621 2494 1131]: "Old and New Ideas of Relationships"]

[Text] Establishing a relationship and making deals are views of relationship. Someone rushes here today, there tomorrow, "greasing the yamen" to seek some private gain. If you want to "establish," you've got to invest a little capital. But to "send with peaches" to someone, it's so that they will "send with plums." To tell the truth, the "sending" is bait, it is the law of Laozi.

No "gift," no seeing; no "gift," no hearing, no "gift," no speaking, no "gift," no acting: this is an idea of relationship, too. The hands of this kind of person reach out especially long: "Do you want something done? Bring a gift!" Give, and it's done; don't give, and things are hard to do. "Those who look to themselves, treat themselves, those who look to others treat others."

The two approaches seem different, but actually they are of the same kind, it's just that one is with "hands clasped" and one is with "hands stretched out." This "reciprocity" is an old custom from the relationships between people in the old society, where you contend and I snatch, you cheat and I swindle, and a borrowing from the naked mercenary relations between people in capitalism. Thus we call it the old idea of relationship.

The reverse of this old relationship is the new relationship. For example, the young worker Liu Weian [0491 5898 1344], from Tong County in Beijing, the child of revolutionary martyrs who has lost the sight of both eyes, "established" a relationship with Chenggu County in Shaanxi, and took the money he had saved from his labor little by little to pay to have his eyes cured and gave it to the people of the disaster area. The Communist Youth League members and the young people of Qidong County in Hunan "established" a relationship with Wubachu, organized over 100 concerned groups and carried out "four protects" for Wubachu. The Shandong Province girl, Bian Tingmin [0593 1694 2404] "established" a relationship with Zhang Xiangling [1728 7449 3781], the member of a revolutionary martyr's family who was a complete stranger to her, and "flew" over 1000 li to Hebei Province to find

her mother and settle down. The Mongolian Lagai [2139 5556] "established" a relationship with two old Chinese and for 6 years cared for the two paralyzed people like their own children. These new relationships are filled with comradely love, close feelings and are entirely without the dust of profit and loss that infects the relationships between people and reflects the profound changes that have taken place in the relationships between people, revealing the flower of socialist spiritual culture. In the words of Engels, this is the "most beautiful flower" produced by the material world in the process of change. And in Lenin's words, this is the great beginning of communism.

When we judge a person's character and spiritual culture, the important thing is to see the spiritual appearances, moral sentiments and worldview which are expressed in the person's handling of relationships between people. Is he self-centered? Altruistic? Mercenary? Comradely? Does he establish relationships with "grease the yamen" people, or are they pure people? Is it like a highly sensitive touchstone measuring each person? Is it pure gold? Or is it brass?

Under socialist conditions, basically speaking, the relationships between people become a relationship between server and served. A person, whether an official or a civilian, regardless of which of the "myriad professions," is one who serves and is one who is served; he is both master of society and servant of the people. So we say the idea of the new relationship reflects the nature and mainstream of our society. However, we must note that the old idea of relationship, which deals in flattery and favors to establish a "relationship," is corrupting the body of our party and state like a pestilence, corrupting our spiritual world, hindering the four modernizations, and we cannot just sit and watch it. The old idea of relationship must be eliminated and the new idea of relationship must be promoted. Our society certainly can become a society with a high degree of socialist spiritual culture.

8226
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PARTY AND STATE

CHUANSHA COUNTY EDUCATES PARTY MEMBERS WITH 'THREE COMPARISONS'

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinse 13 May 82 p 1

[Article by Correspondents Zheng Zilin [6774 6932 7792] and Bao Quanjin [7637 3123 6855]: "Carrying Out the 'Three Comparisons' and Strengthening the Sense of Responsibility--Chuansha Launches Education in Party Spirit, Work Style, and Discipline"]

[Text] Since the latter part of March, the party committee of Chuansha County has been using the method of "three comparisons" (compare your actions with your pledge on joining the party, compare yourself with the revolutionaries of the older generation, and compare yourself with advanced models) to educate rural party members and cadres in party spirit, work style, and discipline, in order to raise basic consciousness, enhance revolutionary spirit and strengthen their dedication and sense of responsibility with respect to the work of effectively building up the two civilizations [material and spiritual].

As soon as the Spring Festival was over, the party committee of Chuansha Country organized a force to investigate and analyze conditions among the 332 rural party branches at the basic level throughout the country. The investigation and analysis revealed that the majority of cadres and party members in the basic-level rural party organizations had a very good understanding of the party's general and specific policies and carried them out very well, and that they also gave a very good account of themselves in the work of building up the material and spiritual civilizations in the rural areas. However, a section of the party members showed signs of low morale, a lack of true party spirit, a decline in their devotion to our undertakings and in their sense of responsibility, all of which attitudes adversely affect the fighting power of the party and damage the prestige of the party among the masses. The county party committee felt that if the rural party organizations at the basic level are to fully play their role as a fighting force in the new situation, it is necessary to integrate ideology with practice and to use the method of "three comparisons" in educating the broad masses of party members and cadres in the party spirit, work style, and discipline. Since inception of this work in various party organizations at the basic level in the latter part of March, very good results have been achieved:

Comparing one's spiritual attitude with one's pledge on joining the party strengthened proletarian party spirit and consciousness. A certain party branch secretary at the Gonglu Commune, who had joined the party in the fifties, was vigorously advancing politically and exerting great efforts and forging ahead in his work for a certain period of time after having joined the party. He would do whatever the party demanded that he do without giving thought to personal gain or loss. However, after he suffered to some extent during the "Cultural Revolution," he became like one who "having once been bitten by a snake is afraid of a straw rope for the next 10 years" and could never regain his former energy and zeal. When he reexamined this time the pledge he had made when he joined the party and looked back on how his spiritual attitude had changed, he was deeply moved and vowed that from now on he would always bear in mind the aim and purpose of the party, bestir himself, work fearlessly and with determination, and perform all the functions that a member of the Communist Party is supposed to fulfill. At the Wanggang Commune, when reexamining his party pledge, a certain party secretary in a leading position said: If I compare myself now with myself when I joined the party, it seems that I have become a different person. In those days I was loyal and devoted in all matters of party concern. At work I felt that "the day was regrettably short and at night I feared running out of lamp oil," always giving priority to the interests of the party and the masses over everything else. However, now I dread hardship and toil, seek ease and comfort, am full of selfish ideas and personal considerations, and show great displeasure if I can't have my rest on Sundays. In my pledge on joining the party, I said I wanted to "endeavor all my life to serve the cause of communism," while in actual fact I "endeavored" for only a short spell of time. The more I thought about it, the more I blushed with shame and was troubled with a bad conscience. Now I have determined to bestir myself, set high standards for myself and be strict in making demands upon myself, steel myself in party spirit, exert myself in fulfilling the tasks entrusted to me by the party organization, and become a truly qualified member of the CCP.

Comparison with the revolutionaries of the older generation and observation of one's own mentality lead to strengthening one's political consciousness of the correct party work style. A certain secretary of the party branch at one of the units in an enterprise of the Liutuan Commune was criticized in 1979 for certain unhealthy practices. This left a hang-up in his thinking and he became dispirited in his work. He then compared himself with the revolutionaries of the older generation and became very ashamed. In a sincere self-criticism, he said: "Under adverse material conditions and in difficult circumstances, the revolutionaries of the older generation were willing to defy the greatest hazards. They worked hard, were not upset by criticism and exerted themselves in their struggles, unafraid to gladly shed their blood and sacrifice their lives, and they willingly served the people like beasts of burden. However, what I am showing now is a lack of public mindedness and much selfishness. I have become contaminated by improper habits and yet cannot bear being criticized. Come to think of it, this is really very, very wrong." He decided to keep the example of the older generation in mind at all times to rid himself of the burden on his conscience, bestir himself, exert himself in his work and strive to make new contributions. A certain member of the party branch committee at the shoe factory in Tangzhen Commune compared himself with the revolutionaries of the older generation and their excellent work style, and of his own free will criticized himself for such unhealthy

practices as buying up at cheap prices lumber and cement left over from construction of the factory, buying shoes at a discount and taking asphalt felt belonging to the factory. He expressed his determination to be honest henceforth in performing his official duties, to work heart and soul for the party, and to exert himself for the collective enterprise in the same way as the revolutionaries of the older generation had done.

Comparison with advanced models and examination of one's own achievements lead to strengthening the sense of responsibility toward party undertakings. The county party committee summed up and praised the work of six rural party branches at the basic level, including the Tangzijing Production Brigade of Yangsi Commune and the Zhaoxing Production Brigade of Huanglou Commune, for effectively acting as a fighting force for the party organization and for playing the role of model vanguards, by doing a good job of advancing the work of building the two civilizations. Everyone compared himself with the advanced models and became aware of places where he lagged behind. Determination was expressed to bestir oneself, and, starting from one's own personal attitudes, to strengthen the sense of responsibility toward party undertakings and to exert oneself in accomplishing the tasks entrusted to one by the party. A certain secretary of the party branch committee of a production brigade at the Huamu Commune said: "formerly I always one-sidedly stressed the material civilization and believed that all that was necessary was to improve the agricultural and collective economy, and that it would not matter whether spiritual civilization was given any attention. As a result, in the work of the party branch only work at hand was taken into account and emphasis was placed on production, while little attention was paid to political and ideological work, and the education of party members in party spirit, work style and discipline was relaxed. The reason why work of every kind excelled in the progressive units was because both materials civilization and spiritual civilization were stressed. This is also an important indicator of the strength of dedication within the party." He said that we must continuously strengthen the revolutionary sense of responsibility and excel as leaders in building the two civilizations.

9808
CSO: 4005/883

BRIEF CRITIQUE OF 'FAIRYTALES IN SPRING'

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 17 May 82 p 3

[Article by Wu Xingren [0702 5281 0086]: "A Spurious, Spiritually Contaminating Work--A Brief Critique of 'Fairytales in Spring'"]

[Text] In 1982, Volume One of HUACHENG, the semi-monthly literary magazine published "Chuntiande Tonghua--Fairytales in Spring," a novel by Comrade Yu Luojin [6657 5012 6930]. Upon reading this work I concluded that it has serious ideological errors and is of questionable taste. In 1925, Lu Xun said: "Art and literature are the fires of our national spirit and at the same time are a beacon showing our national spirit the path ahead." We are now strengthening construction of our socialist spiritual culture and must place greater demands on the spiritual beacon of art and literature to shine even brighter and light up the spirits of the multitudinous masses and readers. However, this feature is entirely missing from "Fairytales in Spring" and, on the contrary, what we see is nothing but a literary work corrupted by dirty bourgeois consciousness which pollutes the reader's spirit. Therefore, it is mandatory to eliminate this pollution.

A Cold and Gloomy "Spring"

The title of this work is "Fairytales in Spring." However, in this novel we do not at all feel the warmth of spring, nor do we see the blooming of spring flowers. Under this writer's pen Yu Shan's environment is dark, cold and gloomy. The old cadre He Jing is a corrupt, sanctimonious hypocrite, Shu Ming is a shameless petty urban bourgeoisie, Guo Jie, the presiding judge of the intermediate people's court is a mentally ossified, "exessively officious" character, the news reporter is a rumor-mongering troublemaker, the heroine's ex-husband always beat her, Yu Shan's father, mother and younger brother all are ignorant, manipulative egoists. In such an environment as this the author introduces us to the "fairytales" of "demonstrations of love" between Yu Shan and He Jing. We might well ask whether or not this is a fairytale which takes place in "springtime"? Is this a true picture of "springtime"? If the author had written a "fairytales in winter"

in which the heroine tragically encountered, exposed and denounced crimes of the "gang of four" the work would then have value. After spring returns to the land this writer then endeavors to pollute it, a girl who has suffered through the cruel winter still is unable to enjoy the warmth of spring and go towards a rewarding life, this indeed is a fairy tale.

In this novel the author has Yu Shan pose the question: "Are the times really changing? Have we who are at the bottom of society really made any gains?" How does this novel answer these important questions? When the intermediate people's court announces the decision to return the case to the prefectural court for investigation, clarification of the facts and re-judge the matter, thus temporarily denying a divorce to Yu Shan and Shu Ming, the author has Yu Shan say: "I stared blankly at the court decision and the "Daily News," and experienced a seemingly familiar feeling--I suddenly remembered that elder brother had been sentenced to death by the intermediate people's court...." The author has mixed together two entirely unrelated matters of a different nature in an astonishing fashion. Yu Shan's elder brother Yu Ling had been sentenced to death by the "gang of four," and this intermediate people's court is now upholding socialist laws in deciding that the divorce case between Yu Shan and Shu Ming should be re-investigated and re-tried by the lower courts. This actually is a sharp condemnation of Yu Shan's mistake of fickleness and irresolution. Yu Shan not only rejects the court's actions within the legal system, she also has "a seemingly familiar feeling" about her case and the persecution of her elder brother by the "gang of four." Her thoughts remain unspoken, but the meaning is all too clear. How can such a stance and viewpoint be permitted by the people?

Of even more importance is that the novel unites the "banner" of ideological liberation with the ugly soul of a hypocrite in the character He Jing, the assistant editor-in-chief of the "Times." Unquestionably, people with such ugly souls as that of He Jing deserve to be whipped. However, the author combines just such a person with ideological liberation, and to what purpose? Consider these matters: In theory, He Jing spoke out to exonerate Yu Shan's brother, was the first to publish a discussion on the issue of applying true standards, "became a banner of ideological liberation," and brought the "fires of spring" to Yu Shan. However, the novel then informs us that all of this was but He Jing's political opportunism and he used these devices to gain the position of assistant editor-in-chief. The 'fires of spring' were quickly extinguished. This hints to the readers that the strongest voices of ideological liberation came from such sanctimonious hypocrites and that the restoration of order out of chaos and the redressing of mishandled cases was but a farce directed by such people as He Jing. The one who truly was harmed was none other than Yu Shan, who struggled through a winter of severe suffering. Everyone knows that after the "gang of four"

was smashed an ideological liberation movement took place in China. This was an epoch-making Marxist educational movement led by the party, which smashed the spiritual cangue forced upon the Chinese people by the "gang of four," broke the long-time bonds of the two "whatevers," restored the ideological foundation for the true path of Marxism ever since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Congress and enabled the party and the nation to achieve a new historical turning point. This great historical tide is not something that just anyone can call forth. To give the hypocrite He Jing the honor of carrying the "banner of ideological liberation" is to demean this movement and it also sullies the bright new China following the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Congress. The political errors of "Fairytale in Spring" turn a bright spring into a dark and gloomy winter.

A Spiritually Polluting "Fairytale"

Let us see what view of life and love are written into this novel.

Yu Shan is a thoroughgoing egoist. Her standard for distinguishing between good and bad people is whether or not they can benefit her. People whom she can profit by or gain from are good people and worthy of her love while those who can be of no advantage or are critical of her are bad and not worthy of her love. When Yu Shan was without food and clothing she then needed Erbao, when she had to declare her residence and housing was available she was then willing to marry Shu Ming. When all of this had transpired and more fictional development was needed, she then "fell in love" with He Jing, 25 years her senior, "I must bow before him, confess everything, and love him with a new soul and new spirit." Yet, such thoroughly egotistical and vulgar thoughts as these are further developed by the additional comment, "I am the sunlight." With this her vulgarity is portrayed as superiority and her shamelessness is described as glory.

However, false beauty and true beauty cannot be transposed. Even though the author has skilfully gilded Yu Shan the discerning eye easily sees the reality--no matter what, she is unable to gloss over Yu Shan's ugly soul. In this 8th decade of the 20th century, the "ideology of the most healthy people" is one which awakens China and implements the four modernizations, is a collective spirit which is concerned about others and overcomes self-interest and is an unselfish, moral communist concept. To madly seek love for gratification of the "self" and to use all possible tricks to revenge "oneself" is no expression of "love of life" but rather is to reveal one's taste for common vulgarity. No person possessing even a modest sense of justice could condone Yu Shan's behavior. Yu Shan is certainly not fit to be an "Apollo." Tolstoy has a famous saying: "A life of pure egoism is an unreasoning, animalistic life." ("Last Diary" p 161) We have

now lived for 32 years in a socialist society and is our awareness of egoism not equal to that of Tolstoy? Does the "life of pure egoism" seem so attractive?

Yu Shan also spoke of having a "wealth of love." She repeatedly boasted, "to love means to love someone with all one's heart and mind, to be out of love should mean to break all marriage ties and find another love. This is the act of an enlightened, just person." Wrong! Yu Shan's so-called "enlightened, just person" is just another expression of non-committal love. Love is not simply taking a drink of water, how can marriage and divorce be treated so lightly by Yu Shan? To be fickle and inconstant are ugly acts in a love relationship and certainly are not the acts of an "enlightened, just person." In the eyes of Yu Shan love is sometimes named money, sometimes named housing and sometimes named power. Yu Shan's so-called "wealth of love" is blasphemy against love. To gain such a "wealth of love" one must undergo a "moral transformation," i.e., become immoral. Concerning the issue of a view on love, Yu Shan should heed the warning by Marx: "Marriage is not subject to the willfulness of those already married, on the contrary, the will of those already married is subject to the nature of marriage itself." ("The Complete Works of Marx," Vol 1, p 183) The nature of marriage is true, mutual love between a man and a woman. True love must keep a great distance from any abnormal or licentious feelings. Yu Shan has reversed the willfulness of those already married and cannot evade becoming a pauper in both love and morals.

At this point it is convenient to discuss the issue of opposing feudal consciousness. In the novel, Yu Shan takes up the "anti-feudal" banner: "If feudal thought is at all lessened because of my case, even if others condemn me to death, I will have accomplished a worthwhile, valuable deed." Feudal consciousness, feudal morality and feudal thought must of course be opposed. Remnant feudal ghosts still create tragedies in love and marriage. We certainly are opposed to the feudal morality of being faithful to a husband until death. It also is immoral to force people to remain in a truly loveless marriage. However, anti-feudal people take various stances. Communist morals can be used to oppose feudalism and bourgeois ideology also can be used to oppose feudalism. John Christopher, Anna Karenina, Nora, Miss Sophie, Lin Daiyu and Jia Baoyu all opposed feudalism. As for the latter two, one must admit to their progressive role in the context of their times, but they definitely are not to be emulated by people today. The people's disapproval of Yu Shan's behavior does not spring from her anti-feudal ideology, but comes first of all from her mistaken target of anti-feudalism, i.e., she viewed the communist view of unchanging true love as the feudal moral precept of being faithful to a husband until death. Second, in her "brave struggle" to oppose "feudal morality" she added the "willfulness of those already married" to her extreme egoism and used this as her ideological weapon. In this she is both ridiculous and sad.

Truth and Beauty in "Truthful Literature"

The author claims that this is "truthful literature." "Beauty does not lie in facts themselves but in the courage to tell the truth." The question whether or not all "truth" is beautiful must of course be answered in the negative. A object of beauty must be matched in quality to the truth of life, however, not all true objects are beautiful. This is because beauty itself has no objective standards but rather is a manifestation of the use of objective laws to show the life practices of people through artistic creativity. The regularity of the objective world and the objects of scientific knowledge take on the significance of beauty only when people have become aware of their objective laws and after the creativity of artistic practices has been applied. Lu Xun said: "There really are people who cannot be written into fiction. To write about them and also attempt to be true to life would ruin the story." "For example, artists paint snakes, crocodiles, dragons and fruit...but none paint caterpillars, leprosy, mucus or feces. This is logic of the matter." In "Fairytales in Spring" there is no lack of such "truth" as "painting mucus!" However, this certainly does not permit people to enjoy beauty, it only besmirches one's own writing and pollutes the reader's view."

Actually, in this author's works "truthful literature" becomes "personal literature." In a courtroom when a case touches upon "shameful personal matters" the proceedings are closed to the public. In "Fairytales in Spring," however, the author uses a literary work to share with the public the "personal" relations between married people in order to vent her personal anger and take revenge. The change from "truthful literature" to "personal literature" is harmful. The more "realistic" the details the worse the social consequences. If the exposure of "shameful personal matters" is considered to be "literature" this then is literary decline and there ought to be no place for such things in the garden of socialist art and literature.

Editorial Responsibility

What is astonishing is that such an erroneous and vulgar work of over ten thousand words could be published in the semi-monthly literary journal "Huacheng." At the end of the story there is an "editorial note" which reads: "Volume One of 1981 announced that Volume Two would publish 'A Fairytale of Today,' but this was temporarily withdrawn so the author could make some revisions. This is the fifth draft, renamed 'A Fairytale in Spring'." To say that "A Fairytale of Today" was temporarily withdrawn for no other reason than the stated one is a coverup. Actually, after this work was announced for publication in 1981, it was criticised by concerned quarters. However, this journal disregarded the criticism and demonstrated a lack of the spirit of self-criticism by publishing this story. At this time the Party Central held

conferences on the ideological line clearly stating that concurrent with the continual rectification of leftist errors attention should be paid to opposing any tendencies toward bourgeois liberalization. Later, they expressed the ardent hope that the world of art and literature and all comrades in ideological work would "help the party to more perfectly realize the great historical mission of constructing a high level of socialist spiritual civilization." It is no wonder that people say that the publication of such fiction is a matter of trying to please the public with rot in a single-minded effort to increase sales.

Magazine publishing is a sort of ideological battleground. Literary works have an undeniable role in molding a beautiful spirit in people. Socialist magazines have a sacred mission in the effort to give the masses a superior education in communism. If some of us editors forget this basic principle and publish such works as "Fairytales in Spring" this will harm construction of socialist spiritual civilization and the people will have good reason to wonder what has happened to the sense of responsibility of the editors of "Huacheng." It appears to be necessary to sum up the lessons learned from the publication of "Fairytales in Spring" and effectively improve our editorial and publishing work.

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NEW EXPLORATION INTO NATIONALITY ISSUE VIEWED

Kunming SIXIANG ZHANXIAN [IDEOLOGICAL FRONT] (JOURNAL OF YUNNAN UNIVERSITY) in Chinese No 1, 20 Feb 82 pp 55-62, 43

[Article by Xiong Xiyuan [3574 6932 0337]]

[Excerpts] How Do We Interpret the Theory that "the Nationality Issue Is a Part of the Revolution Issue?"

On the one hand, Marxism-Leninism opposes absolutizing and idolizing the nationality issue (such as the bourgeois view of "the transcendence of the nationality issue," etc.), and advocates its close link with the class issue, social system and revolution issue. On the other hand, it also opposes the many forms of national nihilism and all kinds of theories scorning, overlooking and obliterating the nationality issue. Marxism-Leninism has always paid serious attention to it. That Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, at different times, wrote many special treatises discussing it in conjunction with the social revolution is the best illustration. In the process from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, the Russian Bolshevik Party and the Chinese Communist Party both placed it in an important position and proposed their own nationality programs and policies.

I feel that, while in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist theory, "the nationality issue is a part of the revolution issue," it possesses a relative independence. When we maintain that the nationality issue must not be isolated from the general issue of the social revolution, it does not mean that it has no particularities in its contradictions, i.e., its relative independence. Equating the nationality issue with the issue of the class struggle, or including it in the class issue, turning it into a subordinate issue, is extremely incorrect. Besides the internal class opposition and the relations of oppression and exploitation between nationalities, the issue also includes national languages, common psychological diatheses, customs and habits, national forms and characteristics, religious beliefs, lack of development in economy and culture and de facto inequality, and nationality relations, issues which involve the

entire people. Therefore, the nationality issue is more wide-ranging and complex than the class issue, and nationalities and the nationality issue will remain with us longer. In this very sense, while we maintain that the nationality issue is a part of the revolution issue, we stress its relative independence.

Take China for instance: The fact that the various nationalities have long achieved production means public ownership, the exploiting system and the exploiting classes have long vanished, and the classes are no longer the main contradiction in our society, yet the nationality issue remains very much in existence, persuasively indicates its relative independence. From the end of the fifties to the 10-year calamity of the "Great Cultural Revolution," one important reason for the many mistakes in the nationality policies and nationality work was casting aside the relative independence of the issue and equating it with the class issue, believing that, like the class struggle, the moment it was tackled, there would be instantaneous result, and magnifying the class struggle. Actually, it was casting aside nationality work. It was a tragic and profound lesson.

Without correct theory, there can be no correct action. Today, we must fully recognize the relative independence of the nationality issue and realize that, besides its close link with the general issue of the revolution, it has its own particularities in its contradictions. Only by so doing will we place nationality work constantly on the daily agenda and tackle it vigorously and successfully; only thus will the solution of the nationality issue be kept from turning into an empty phrase. Only when the entire revolutionary work is properly performed will nationality work be properly performed. By the same token, the success or failure of nationality work will also influence the entire revolutionary work. It is the objectively existing dialectic relationship between them.

What Is the Essence of the Nationality Issue in the Socialist Period?

Discussions of the relations between the nationality and class issues in recent years have involved the essence of the nationality issue in different societies and under different historical conditions. Does the nationality issue in the socialist period have its particularities? Is the theory that its essence is the elimination of the de facto historical inequities among the nationalities tenable? Our answers are in the affirmative, and we also feel that the elimination of the de facto inequities includes the correct handling of the relations among the nationalities.

In a multinationality state, the relatively developed economy and culture of some nationalities and the very backward economy and culture of others form a gap in the economic and cultural life, making it impossible for the backward nationalities to enjoy the various rights. Marxism-Leninism very accurately calls this phenomenon "de facto inequality," and points out that de facto inequality entails the danger of making political and

legal equality meaningless and formal. It is inconceivable for a nationality which has little or no modern industry and science and technology and no industrial workers and intellectuals, whose level of agriculture is low, whose culture and education and public health are almost nonexistent, which has lived for generations in remote areas in isolation, and which still retains many primitive and backward customs and habits, to truly take part in modern political, economic and cultural life or even to enjoy the most basic equal rights. Thus, not only will national equality remain incomplete, but the thorough elimination of national misunderstanding and the psychology of distrust will be blocked, and the relations of unity and cooperation among the nationalities affected.

The importance of the issue indicates that its essence in the socialist period can be summed up as achieving the de facto equality among the nationalities. As long as the essence is not turned into "the whole" or "equal to," the theory is tenable. It is because the de facto inequality is a main contradiction, and once it is tackled, other contradictions will be easily solved. Meanwhile, the thorough solution of the nationality issue, from true rapprochement to fusion, can only be gradually achieved on the basis of de facto equality.

Regarding eliminating the de facto inequality as the essence of the nationality issue in the socialist period will give us a clear understanding of nationality work and a direction and goal of our endeavor. In other words, under the condition of improving and strengthening national regional autonomy, safeguarding national equality and reinforcing national unity, we must continuously develop the economic and cultural constructions of the various nationalities, promote their prosperity, and enable all nationalities in our country to have adequate capacity, i.e., full political, economic and cultural means, to build and enjoy modern material and spiritual lives.

On this issue, there is also one point of distinction: De facto inequality and disequilibrium in development are two different things which must not be lumped together. Disequilibrium is an absolute law. Even under the socialist condition, disequilibrium in the economic and cultural developments of the various nationalities cannot be avoided. Even in different areas and among different parts of the same nationality (such as the Han people), disequilibrium due to differences in historical foundations, production conditions and natural environments exists. De facto inequality among the nationalities must be vigorously eliminated, but absolute equilibrium in development, making the levels identical, is difficult to achieve. The matter can only be thus: The different economic and cultural developments in the various nationality regions and among the nationalities, due to the differences in various conditions, will approach equilibrium from disequilibrium, and new disequilibriums will be overcome. Such cycles and repetitions are compatible with the objective law of development. Therefore, no nationality should lump together de facto inequality and developmental disequilibrium, two issues of different essences, and fail to see the objective fact that our country will soon

place the issue of de facto equality on the daily agenda and that de facto inequality has begun to dwindle.

The issue of de facto inequality among the nationalities is a phenomenon left down by the exploiting class society, closely linked with class oppression. But in a socialist society where the exploiting classes and the exploiting system have been eliminated, it is no longer a class issue, but a nationality issue, and mainly one which influences the relations among the people of the various nationalities. Marxism-Leninism finds that vigorously eliminating the de facto inequality is precisely by firmly upholding the class viewpoint and the class analysis method on the nationality issue, by seeking the interest of the overwhelming majority among the various nationalities, and by placing their relations of equality and unity on a firm foundation, to last through the generations.

What Are the Conditions for the Formation of Socialist Nationalities?

What is a socialist nationality? How is it formed? What are its conditions or signs? In spite of the fact that we constantly use this term, our answers to these questions are not unanimous.

In China, in regard to the formation of the socialist nationality and its implication, we generally follow the exposition of Stalin in his book "the Nationality Issue and Leninism" (1929): After the establishment of the socialist system, the old bourgeois nationality also develops and forms into a new socialist nationality; the proletarian political party is the leading force of this new nationality; a worker-peasant alliance is created within the various nationalities; for equal rights, free development and internationalism, national oppression and nationalist remnants are eliminated; irreconcilable class contradictions within the nationalities no longer exist; etc. Stalin said that all these constitute the "mental attitude and sociopolitical outlook" of a socialist nationality. (See "Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 11, pp 291-292).

What Stalin said is doubtlessly correct and necessary, but there are flaws. One may say that explaining the formation and implication of a socialist nationality according to his exposition is abstract and inadequate.

In his exposition, Stalin listed many political factors, but almost completely omitted the economic factor, except for a general reference to the establishment of the socialist system. His exposition also includes the idea that, after the socialist system has replaced the capitalist system and become established, the bourgeois nationality will automatically transform into a socialist nationality. It seems to be too easy. From the practical conditions after the creation of the Soviet Union and the founding of the new China, transforming the old nationality into a new socialist nationality is not something which can be accomplished by one stroke, but involves the long process of the new replacing the old, filled with contradictions, resistance and conflicts. We can only say

that, after socialism has replaced capitalism, the premise for the formation new nationalities begins to take shape, and the factors and conditions of socialist nationalities are germinating. Or, we may say that we have entered a new stage where the old nationalities are transforming into socialist nationalities. The socialist society cannot be established within a short period. Likewise, the complete formation of socialist nationalities also requires a fairly long process.

Comrade Li Weihan's [2621 4850 3352] speech in Xinjiang in 1961 listed the five major common grounds already possessed by the various nationalities of China: The party's unified guidance; the socialist political power; the preliminary socialist economic system; the socialist political-ideological outlook among the majority of the nationalities; the dominance of the socialist culture. According to him, these common grounds indicate that the overwhelming majority of China's nationalities "has begun to become socialist nationalities." ("Issues on the Nationality Theory and Nationality Policy," p 88). Closely linked with China's reality and clearly mentioning the economic base, his exposition is basically scientific, especially when he immediately followed by pointing out the problems. He said that, among the five grounds, besides the party's leadership and the people's democratic political power which produce a decisive effect, the remaining grounds "are still in their infancy" and the material foundation (modern industry and modern agriculture) is far from adequate, and that it indicates that "the transition of China's various nationalities to socialist nationalities has not been completed, the levels reached by them are not identical, and each needs a fairly long period of time to achieve the transition." (Ibid., p 89). Such analysis and assessment by seeking the truth from the facts are most enlightening.

At this late date, with the development and improvement of understanding, the question of just what is a socialist nationality may be further explored, so that it will become clearer, more scientific, and more compatible with the true features of things and the objective laws of development in meaning and in the conditions or signs of its formation. On the issue of the socialist economy, for instance, we must realize that, though production means public ownership has been generally established among the various nationalities in our country, it is still very imperfect and undeveloped. In some areas, it has only been roughly shaped or accepted, but still far from the requirements of true socialism. Most minorities have little or no modern industry and agriculture. In the years of disaster caused by the ultra-leftwing ideological trend and the "gang of four," some minorities found themselves in the predicament of suffering from hunger and cold. How, then, could they be called socialist nationalities? One condition for a socialist nationality is an internationalist nationality concept and an advanced spiritual civilization, which cannot be achieved in one day, but is restricted by political, economic and cultural conditions, and requires the effort of two to three generations. Today, we can at most say that the various nationalities in our country have acquired a preliminary internationalist ideology, while there remain a strong remnant of the old nationality concept and consciousness and many

non-internationalist things in nationality relations. In addition, the lingering religious concept cannot but influence the political and ideological outlook of the socialist nationalities.

In short, similar to the fact that we cannot lower the standard of socialism as a whole, we cannot lower the proper requirements of a socialist nationality; instead, we must raise it to the height of science in our understanding and demands. There is, however, one advantage, and it is to impel us to exert ourselves in all aspects to reach the standard. According to the conditions of China, may we say that the various nationalities today are still in the transitional stage toward becoming new-type nationalities and that only when the four modernization construction is preliminarily achieved will the socialist nationalities be considered basically formed?

Furthermore, the developmental law of a socialist nationality is also an issue deserving exploration. Though the developmental law and prospect of socialist nationalities and national fusion are not one and the same, their close connection is self-evident. In regard to the prospect of national fusion, we can only point out the inevitability or tendency of the development, and it is not necessary, nor possible, to form more concrete conceptions. Nevertheless, one point can be confirmed: For socialist nationalities in their complete sense or when fully developed, though the fusion of the various nationalities signifies the maximum reduction of the differences and the maximum growth of the commonalities, it does not mean the disappearance of all national differences, but only the major ones. We can say with certainty that the various socialist nationalities will retain certain healthy, meaningful and valuable characteristics, thereby bringing splendor and color to national life and the life of mankind.

Common Psychological Diathesis Is the Most Active and Most Vital Enduring Factor among the National Characteristics.

A nationality has a common region, a common language, a common economic life and a common psychological diathesis, the four characteristics. To a nationality, all four are important, especially in the course of its formation. Generally speaking, only a community of men possessing all four characteristics can be called a nationality, and only comprehensively examining them will we gain a complete, not fragmented, understanding of a nationality.

Nevertheless, in the course of survival and development after the formation of a nationality, differences in the importance and role of the various characteristics of different nationalities under different historical conditions may emerge. We only have to observe the matter thoroughly to discover that the common psychological diathesis is always the most active and most vital enduring factor among the characteristics. Therefore, it is an issue deserving study.

Why is it so?

First, the common psychological diathesis is a crucial sign to identify and distinguish a nationality.

The national language is an important basis to identify a nationality, and so is the common psychological diathesis. We must first clarify what the common national psychological diathesis is. In the article "a Preliminary Exploration into the Issue of the Common National Psychological Diathesis," this writer discussed its concept: The common psychological diathesis is the reflection of the social economy, historical development, living pattern and geological environmental features of a nationality on its mental outlook. By means of its language, literature and art (including all forms of expression, architectural style, handicraft, etc.), social custom, living habits (e.g., clothing and ornaments, festivals, sports activities, etc.), religious belief, devotion to its motherland and its people, and attachment to its native soil, a nationality expresses its preferences, interests, capacities, temperament, disposition, sentiment and national pride, thereby forming the characteristics of the common psychological diathesis of the particular nationality. As these characteristics distinguish the particular nationality from others in its mental outlook, they constitute a crucial sign in national identification. Furthermore, once the common psychological diathesis has gradually formed, it will turn into the most active and most vital factor in the future development and entire activities of the nationality. It can be seen in the three aspects discussed below.

Second, the national psychological diathesis is known for its resistance to assimilation; therefore, it plays an extremely crucial role in national survival and development.

We know that the national language has a strong resistance to assimilation. Nevertheless, in the developmental history of mankind, there were indeed some nationalities which, in the course of natural assimilation, lost their original common languages. Though it is difficult to assimilate a national language, it is not absolutely impossible. Yet the common psychological diathesis is somewhat different; it has a stronger resistance to assimilation and is most difficult to assimilate.

Besides certain national characteristics of different degrees, China's Hui, Man and Bai people are nationalities with marked manifestations of the common psychological diathesis. Whether they have changed their citizenship or not, the millions of overseas Chinese have not, basically have not, or mostly have not, been assimilated by the subject nationalities of the countries of their residence, basically or largely retaining the ingredients of the common psychological diathesis of the Chinese nationality (mainly the Han people).

Even the various Europeans who have long merged into the American nationality still more or less retain the psychological diatheses and temperamental characteristics of their former nationalities.

Third, the common psychological diathesis is a great spiritual force of patriotism (including devotion to the nationality).

When a nation encounters foreign aggression, the people rally to its defense; trampled by external forces, a nation demonstrates an indomitable spirit; residing in foreign land, the people of a nationality feel attached to their native soil, are concerned for the prosperity or decline, honor or disgrace, of their mother nation, support its righteous causes and struggles, breathe the same air and share the same destiny with it.... Besides other factors and conditions, the motive force for the birth of the noble patriotic spirit and the formation of the national sentiment has its root in the common psychological diathesis. The entire modern history of China is a struggle history manifesting the firm and tenacious character of the Chinese nation and its indomitable resistance of colonial and capitalist-imperialist aggression. The entire history of overseas Chinese is a history of devotion to the motherland, manifesting the common psychological diathesis of the Chinese nation and the sense of national pride. It was precisely the sense of national pride and patriotism which closely linked the works of the great 19th century Polish composer Chopin, residing in foreign land, with the destiny of his motherland. Patriotism, the sense of national pride and the common national psychological diathesis are not one and the same, but there is an extremely close inherent link among them. The sense of national pride is a crucial manifestation and the essence of the common national psychological diathesis and the important spiritual pillar creating and forming patriotism.

Fourth, the time when the main characteristics of the common psychological diathesis vanish is the day when a nationality heads for fusion.

From the discussion of the foregoing three points, especially the fact that the common psychological diathesis is the last fence of the national boundary, it will be easy to understand that the common psychological diathesis is the most enduring factor among the national characteristics. According to Marxism-Leninism, in the future world communist society, the various nationalities will finally move toward fusion. In terms of the four national characteristics, what is the course of national fusion? Perhaps we can look at it this way: Common region and common economic life will grow more and more insignificant in national survival and easily vanish; the fusion of national languages will one day become reality; only the survival of the common psychological diathesis will be of the longest duration, not easily obliterated, and the slowest in dissipation. Therefore, we have reason to say that the time when the main characteristics of the common national psychological diathesis vanish is the day when a nationality heads for fusion. Take the conditions of China for instance: The common regions of the various minorities are naturally extremely important for regional autonomy. But with the development of the socialist construction cause and the changes in people's concepts, and with the mobility of the people of the various nationalities, making their homes wherever they are and finding the location of residence unimportant, the regional concept will grow ever more dim. The economic life of the

various nationalities will, throughout the country, merge more and more into an indivisible whole. As for the fusion of national languages and the dissipation of the common psychological diatheses, both are things of the far future, but relatively speaking, the latter will take longer. I feel that this point is basically compatible with the developmental law of objective things.

The above four aspects indicate that the common psychological diathesis is the most active and most vital enduring factor among the characteristics. The purpose for exploring this issue is that, in our multinational socialist state, we must give serious attention to the study of the common national psychological diathesis, in order to better implement the nationality policies of the party and the state and properly perform the nationality work in the new period.

How Do We Interpret China's Historical Nationality Relations?

For a long time, China has been a large country composed of many nationalities with the Han people as the main body. Like the Han people, the various minorities have made their contributions to the creation of our great motherland. The vast territory, long history and superior and rich cultural heritage are the common achievements of all the nationalities. The Chinese people are known as one of the great peoples in the world, and all nationalities in China have a share in the greatness.

Nevertheless, in the long feudal society and the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society of more than a century, the relations among China's nationalities were not all equal, happy and smooth. There were two contradictory aspects.

In one aspect, a relation of friendly cooperation existed among China's nationalities through close economic and cultural interchanges and the long common revolutionary struggles. Since the dynasties of Qin and Han, China had a multinational centralized feudal state. The relatively long unified phase and relatively short divided phase contributed to the economic contact and cultural interchange among the nationalities. Especially with the different nationalities living together, thereby influencing one another and learning one another's strong points to offset their weaknesses, a relationship of interdependence and common interest grew. What was even more valuable was that, in the long course of historical development, the various nationalities, in addition to their close economic and cultural contact and interchange, created an even stronger link, viz., the friendship borne in the common revolutionary struggles. The common struggles of the various nationalities against national oppression and against feudal control and class oppression in history were continuous. They never capitulated to Western colonialist and imperialist aggressions and, in the protracted indomitable struggles, they frustrated time and again the conspiracies and ambitions of capitalist-imperialism, drove away the foreign aggressors one by one and preserved the glorious history of the motherland. Especially with the spread of new modern culture and

Marxism-Leninism in China and the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, the revolutionary struggles of the various nationalities entered a new phase. The democratic revolutionary movement led by the party and its program for the solution of the nationality issue truly tied together the destinies of all the nationalities in China. The nationality regional confines broke down more and more, the revolutionary struggles grew into a whole, and an inseparable flesh-and-blood tie formed among all the nationalities. In spite of the internal and external reactionary obstructions, sabotage and infringement, this friendly cooperative relationship, formed and developed among China's nationalities in the production and class struggles, has turned into an irresistible historical tendency.

In the other aspect, the nationality disputes and nationality oppression in history created a deep estrangement and a psychology of distrust. The Han people long occupied a dominant position and oppressed the minorities. Some minorities also created national political regimes or relatively extensive regional regimes, lasting at times one to three centuries, also enforcing the system of nationality oppression. Due to the instigations of the ruling class and nationality prejudices, armed confrontations and wars among the nationalities frequently occurred. The feudal dynasties of past ages, the control by the Beiyang warlords and the Guomindang reactionaries in modern and contemporary times, and the malicious propaganda of Western capitalist-imperialism created among China's nationalities, especially between the minorities and the Han people, deep nationality prejudices, discriminations, estrangement and distrust. A countercurrent in history, it influenced all along the nationality relations after the victory of the democratic revolution.

In the past, we had the habit of calling the friendly cooperative relation the main current, while deliberately avoiding or barely skimming over the oppression and inequality and the estrangement and distrust. This point calls for consideration. Since the friendly cooperative relation among the nationalities was considered the main current, the implication was that it was in the ruling position and of overwhelming dominance, and constituted the main aspect of the contradiction. It is incompatible with the historical truth. The writer feels that calling the aspect of friendly cooperation an irresistible historical tendency is more appropriate. It is a basically different theory from calling it the main current. Why is it more appropriate and tenable to call it an irresistible historical tendency? Because it is compatible with the demands of social development and the desires of the people of all the nationalities. Always it continuously breaks through obstacles and seeks to open the way for itself, and has indeed become a great motive force in creating the history of our motherland. Nevertheless, it cannot, at all times and in all circumstances, develop smoothly into the main current, but advances on a winding course, ascends in a spiral, and at times even comes to a standstill or takes a turn for the worse. As for the aspect of nationality oppression and estrangement, calling it a countercurrent is basically tenable, but, at the same time, two points must be clarified. One is that the theory is the view held by us today, and the second is that we must not flatly

call the countercurrent a tributary. The following situation was often found in China's history: In certain periods or stages, or in certain nationality areas, the countercurrent occupied the dominant position or became the principal manifestation. Under this situation, like the sun covered by the cloud, the friendly cooperative relation among the nationalities occupied an inferior position.

It is very inappropriate to stress the aspect of friendly cooperation in nationality relations in history while ignoring the oppression, discrimination and estrangement and the coercive assimilation which once existed in history. These phenomena in nationality relations existed objectively. The matter could only be so, since in the feudal and the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China, political power was in the hands of the reactionaries, the thinking of the ruling class was that of those in the ruling position, and the balance of class strengths was long unfavorable to the laboring people. Furthermore, the system of nationality oppression enforced by the reactionary ruling class and the nationality disputes and estrangement created by it long occupied the position of the main aspect of the contradiction, producing a deep and wide influence. These very conditions determined the nature of the nationality issue of the old China. It was an antagonistic social contradiction. Only by overthrowing internal and external reactionary control would the system of nationality oppression be eliminated and the premise for the solution of the nationality issue created. As indicated by practice in the socialist period, there should be full understanding and adequate assessment of the historical nationality estrangement and psychology of distrust; eliminating nationality estrangement and distrust should always occupy a crucial position in the course of solving the nationality issue; only after a protracted effort will the historical phenomena be thoroughly wiped out.

Stressing the friendly cooperative aspect of nationality relations in history and claiming that it constituted, in the past, the main aspect of the contradiction are not only incompatible with the nature of the society of the old China and the historical facts, but will, in fact, easily lead to the following result: downgrading the decisive role of the revolution of the people of the various nationalities led by the Chinese Communist Party and diminishing the revolutionary significance of the party's nationality program and nationality policy. Changes in the two contradictory aspects of nationality relations in history only began to occur after the Chinese Communist Party came to power. Under the leadership of the party and after a protracted, tortuous and complex struggle, the people of the various nationalities gradually grew in strength and finally won the victory of the national democratic revolution, thereby causing the mutual conversion of the positions of the two contradictory aspects. With the abolition of the nationality oppression system, the realization of nationality equality, and the incipient elimination of nationality estrangement, the relations of friendly cooperation and of unity and mutual aid among the nationalities have begun to become the main aspect of the contradiction and a force producing a dominant effect (determining the nature of things), and the nature and tasks of the nationality issue

in the new China have become completely different from the old China. When solving the domestic nationality issue, especially when formulating the policy on regional autonomy of the nationalities, the Chinese Communist Party gave consideration to the two aspects of nationality relations and fully assessed the historical nationality estrangement and the protracted nature of its elimination, while paying serious attention to the friendly relation among the nationalities, considering it an important basis for unity and cooperation, and enabling it to develop and heighten under the new historical conditions.

6080
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURAL

IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICIES RELATED TO INTELLECTUALS REPORTED

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 29 Apr 82 p 1

[Article by Ke Jaiowen [2688 2403 2429] and Ma Zhihui @7456 0037 8396]: "Gansu Carries on an Overall Inspection on the Implementation of Policies on Intellectuals"]

[Text] The Gansu Provincial CCP Committee, provincial departments directly concerned and the inspection groups of the area, prefectural and city CCP committees all over the province are carrying on conscientious inspection on the implementation of policies on intellectuals.

In mid-March, the provincial CCP Committee sent out circulars specifically for this purpose. The Organization Department of provincial CCP committee convened a conference attended by responsible comrades of concerned departments. Comrade Guo Hongchao [6753 3163 6389], deputy secretary of the provincial CCP committee, specifically called for making a good job of inspection on intellectuals. The provincial CCP committee also set up a temporary staff office to carry out the work of inspection on intellectuals. The provincial CCP committee has decided that the stress of inspection this time is concentrated on three areas: the situation of the implementation of policies from the political point of view, the arrangement of work for intellectuals in order to make use of them and the major issues that exist in their daily life. The focal point of inspection is on both the high-level intellectuals and the middle-aged professional backbone with positions equivalent to lecturers, assistant research fellows and engineers. Investigation and study on issues concerning intellectuals in general must also be made and outstanding issues be inspected and resolved. The purpose and demand of the inspection work this time are: to find out the real situations and problems, to propose measures for resolving the problems, and conscientiously to implement the policies of the CCP Central Committee concerning intellectuals in order to arouse their enthusiasm so that they can play their role fully in national life and in various kinds of work.

Individual units, under the leadership of the provincial CCP committee, have actively transferred manpower to organize inspection groups and temporary working bodies for carrying out inspection work. The 6 inspection groups concerned with scientific research, propaganda and culture, education, health and sanitation, industry and communications, and agriculture respectively, organized

jointly by the provincial CCP committee and a total of 8 units, committees, staff offices, departments and bureaus of the provincial government have gotten a total of more than 50 cadres including 10 leading cadres transferred from various departments and bureaus. The overwhelming majority of provincial departments and bureaus as well as all of the areas, prefectures and municipalities of the province have set up inspection groups in their own organizations and localities. It is understood that the various inspection groups of the provincial CCP committee, units where intellectuals are comparatively more concentrated, and some prefectures and municipalities have already selected more than 30 inspections units as the key points where inspection is being thoroughly carried out. At the same time, many units are now carrying out over-all inspections in their own organizations.

At the time when inspection is being carried out, all inspection groups, on the basis of the spirit of resolving problems while inspecting, are trying to speed up settlement of problems which can be solved. For instance, the inspection group of the provincial Health and Sanitation Department found that the archives of some medical personnel of the Lanzhou Medical College had not been put in order, they immediately helped the college CCP committee sort out the files in question in accordance with regulations promulgated by the CCP Central Committee. The same inspection group in coordination with the leading group of the provincial antiepidemic station also decided that new houses must first be provided for the eight physicians in charge and their deputies. The Lanzhou Normal Junior College, with the help of the inspection group of the provincial Department of Education, earnestly handled the legacy left over by implementing the policies on intellectuals and accommodated 12 rooms for teachers of specialized courses of mathematics, physics and chemistry to prepare lessons and handle school affairs. Simply constructed single-story houses also are under construction in order to resolve problems of daytime rest of teachers who reside in urban districts. Both the Lanzhou Railway College and the Gansu Industrial University have provided better houses for some professors, assistant professors and lecturers during the course of inspection. Comrades of the inspection group of the provincial CCP committee concerned with propaganda, education and population, after having visited Prof Chi-Dan-Xia-Rong's [2088 2481 1115 5422] home and talked in depth with him, found that the professor of the Northwest Nationalities College, who is an expert in Tibetan language and over 70 years old, has no assistant with him and that he himself is a single and needs his nephew to take care of him. The comrade who visited him promptly reported his situation to the provincial CCP committee. As instructed by the comrade in charge of the provincial CCP committee, departments concerned including the Provincial Public Security Department and the Personnel Bureau have promptly cleared his nephew's residence registration problem.

Recently, the Organization Department of the provincial CCP committee has convened a conference to hear reports from various inspection groups. Deputy Secretary Comrade Liu Bing [0491 0393] attended and spoke at the conference. The conference felt that although much work had previously been accomplished, yet the progress made is awfully uneven. It is requested that party organizations at all levels, personnel departments and comrades who participate in the

inspection work conscientiously study the relative documents of the CCP Central Committee and the instructions of the leading comrades of the CCP Central Committee, thoroughly approach and understand the significance of doing a good job in implementing policies on intellectuals, make themselves clear about the purpose and demand of the inspection work of this time, eliminate the "leftist" influence on the question of intellectuals, and seek unity of ideological understanding in pursuance of the party line. It is necessary to achieve the purpose that politically intellectuals should be treated equal, without discrimination, that they should be given a free hand in their work, and that their needs should be taken care of. It is also necessary to educate and correct the erroneous concepts on the question of intellectuals. From now on, the results achieved in the work related to intellectuals will be counted as one of the important marks for judging the merits of the leadership of an area or a unit.

9560
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SOME PERCEPTIONS ON MINORITY POPULATION DEVELOPMENT

Beijing RENKOU YANJIU [POPULATION RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 1982
29 May 82, pp 33-37

[Article by Zhou Qing [0719 3237] of the Population Theory Institute, China People's University, Beijing and Xiong Yu [3574 6735] of the Population Research Center of the Chinese Social Sciences Academy: "Some Perceptions Concerning Minority Population Developments in China"]

[Text] China is a unified socialist state of many nationalities. In addition to the Han people there are 55 minority nationalities which constitute approximately 6 percent of a total population of nearly 1 billion people. In the 30 years since Liberation, all nationalities have worked under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party to carry out democratic reforms and socialist transformation, develop the national economy and culture, improve the livelihood and increase the population in order to make their own contributions toward national prosperity and toward constructing and protecting the border areas. As for the future, how minority nationality populations should develop is a major issue which is related to developments in national strength and in the prosperity of all nationalities. I will now present some of my views on conditions and trends in population development of China's minority nationalities.

(1)

Prior to Liberation, minority nationalities were exploited and repressed internally by their tribal chiefs or by the herd owners and were destroyed externally by policies of ethnic prejudice and ethnic repression carried out by reactionary governments. Production strength was almost nil, population development was extremely slow, a portion of the minority nationalities tended toward population decline and several nationalities appeared to be on the brink of extinction.

After liberation, the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the superiority of the socialist system as well as the implementation of various nationality policies paved the way for

the development of prosperity among all nationalities. Political liberation and social progress permitted the minority nationalities to attain their rightful status as nationalities and the broad people won the right to a livelihood. There was economic reform, restoration and development. Considerable developments also were made in culture, education, medical care and sanitation. All of this made progress in promoting prosperity for the nationalities and in promoting population development. Generally speaking, population increases among minority nationalities are relatively rapid and their speed of development is consistent with development in overall national population. (See Table No 1)

Table No 1: Population Development Figures for Major Nationality Groups. Unit: 10,000 people.

Nationality	1953年	1964年	1978年	1953年 增长%	Nationality	1953年	1964年	1978年	1953年 增长%
Total Population	58796	70477	95809	63	Koreans	112.0	134.9	168.0	50
Han Minorities	55244	66500	90229	63.3	Yao	67.0	85.8	124.0	85
	3552	3999	5580	57	Tong	71.0	83.8	111.0	56.3
Zhuang	696.0	840.2	1209.0	73.7	Bai	57.0	71.0	105.0	84.2
Moslems	356.0	448.8	619.0	82.3	Ha'ni	48.0	63.0	96.0	100
Uighurs	364.0	400.0	518.0	50.5	Kazakhs	50.9	49.2	80.0	57.2
Yi	325.0	338.9	485.0	49.2	Tujia	59.0	52.5	77.0	30.5
Miao	251.0	278.9	392.0	56.2	Tai	47.0	53.6	76.0	61.7
Tibeteans	277.0	250.5	345.0	21.5	Li	36.0	44.0	68.0	88.9
Mongols	146.0	197.3	266.0	82.2	Lisu	31.7	27.1	47.0	48.3
Manchus	242.0	270.1	265.0	9.5	She/Yu	21.9	23.4	33.0	50.7
Buyi	125.0	135.2	172.0	37.6	Lahu	13.9	19.1	27.0	94.2
					Wa	28.6	20.0	26.0	-9

(1) Percentage of increase from 1953 to 1978.

This table shows that in 1953 the minority nationality population stood at only 35.52 million people and that by 1978 it had increased to 55.80 million people, a 57 percent increase over 25 years and an average annual increase of 18.2 people per thousand. During this same period, the total national population increased from 5.9 hundred million to 9.6 hundred million, a 63 percent increase and a yearly average increase of 19.7 people per thousand. A look at the individual nationality groups shows that except for population declines in certain nationalities which resulted from actual physical movements and other objective factors, the remaining 46 minority nationalities showed varying degrees of population increases between 1953 and 1978. (See Table No 2)

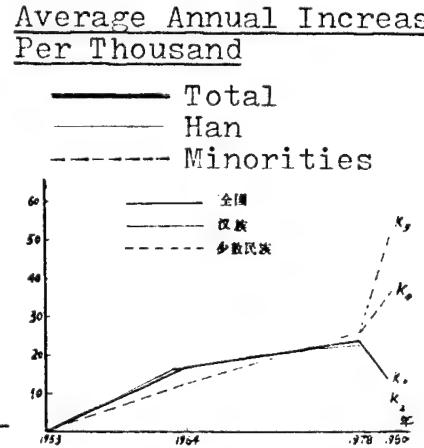
Table No 2: Percentile Increases of Minority Nationality Populations.

Percentile Increase	Group Number	Nationality Group
100 plus	7	Ha'ni, Monguors, Qiang, Xibe(Sibo), Benglong, Yugu
80-99	8	Moslems, Mongols, Yao, Li, Lahu, Bai, Pumi, Salars
60-79	10	Zhuang, Miao, Tai, Mulao, Maonan, Kelao, Shui, Daghors, Dulong, Hezhe
40-59	12	Uighurs, Kazakhs, Yi, Yu/She, Tong, Koreans, Lisu, Naxi, Tajiks, Nu, Bulang, Oronchon,
20-39	7	Tibeteans, Jing, Buyi, Baoan, Tujia, Dongxiang, Kirghiz
1-19	2	Manchus, Achang
-0-	5	Jingbo, Uzbeks, Tatar, Russians, Wa

Among these various nationalities which increased at different rates it is worthy of note that in 27 years the number of minority nationalities with populations of over 1 million people increased from 10 to 15, with the total population of these nationalities increasing from 31.96 million to 55.475 million. What is more, except for the Manchus, they now all have average annual population increases exceeding 20 per thousand. Intermarriage between the Han and Manchu nationalities has been common for a long time and when the nationality of the offspring of such marriages is chosen the majority of them choose Han nationality, so the Manchus show an average annual increase of 7.9 per thousand.

The graph at the right shows the comparative rate of population growth of the whole nation, the Han nationality and the minority nationalities.

The graph shows that from 1953 to 1964 minority nationality population development was relatively slow and increased only 12.58 percent in 11 years, an average annual increase of 10.83 per thousand, lower than the rate of growth for the overall national population. During this period, the total national population rose at an annual average rate of 16.6 per thousand. Between 1964 and 1978 the rate of minority nationality population development overtook the rate of population increase for the entire nation and reached an average annual increase of 24 per thousand. During this period, the total national population had an annual average increase of 22.2 per thousand. In the two years from 1978 to 1980 the minority nationality population grew at an average annual rate of 53 per thousand(K_3 on the diagram), this



jump from 55.80 million people to 61.88 million people greatly exceeded the rate of increase for the entire population. This includes nationality population figures which increased because of reclassification. The most prominent of these is the Tuja nationality which increased from 0.77 million people in 1978 to 2.55 million people in 1980, a net increase of 1.7 million people. By eliminating such factors, the average annual rate of increase between 1978 and 1980 is reduced to 38 per thousand (K4 on the diagram). During this same period the Han nationality areas strongly encouraged family planning and population control, which brought the overall annual national rate of population increase down to 10 per thousand. From this we can see that in China the speed of population growth for each nationality in each historical period is closely related to party policy and socio-economic factors. Ever since the Third Party Plenum, for example, progress in implementing minority policies and progress in developing nationality classification work have provided various sorts of beneficial conditions for the growth of minority nationality populations.

(2)

As for present conditions in minority population development, we not only must observe the rapid pace but also must take note of the youthful age structure, early marriage and early childbirth. In relation to population increases we also must give serious consideration to unsuitable features in the economy, culture, education and health and sanitation as well as other real problems facing the minority nationalities.

1. The youthful age structure. According to incomplete statistics, the current median age for some minority nationality populations is under 20 years of age (See Table No 3), which definitely will result in an increase in the proportion of women of childbearing age.

Table No 3: Age Structure of Some Minority Area Populations (Percents)

Area	(1)	(2)	(3)
	15岁以下	30岁以下	65岁以上
Nei Monggol Chenbaerhu Banner (Mongols)	39.9	62.7	2.4
Xiguitu Banner (Mongols)	40	69.3	2.2
Guangxi Debao County (Zhuang)	37.2	63.7	6.8
Locheng County (Mulao)	43	68	5.5
Hunan Xiangxi Tujia-Miao auto prefect	36.7	62.4	5.4
Guangdong Hainan Li-Miao Baisha cty	49.3	72.9	2.5
Guangdong Hainan Li-Miao Baoxiang cty	46.9	71.1	4.2
Guangdong Hainan Chaoan cty (Yu/She)	39.7	72.3	4.9
Qinghai Xining City 7 pastoral areas	39.8	(4)51.2(21岁以下)	3.1

(1) Under age 15. (2) Under age 30. (3) Over age 65. (4) Under age 21

2. Relatively common early marriage and early childbirth. According to investigations conducted in some counties of Yili prefecture, Xinjiang province, early marriage is relatively common in the countryside, generally at age 15 or 16, and marriage at age 18 is considered to be late. After marriage the women continually give birth and a 30 year old mother generally will have had over 10 pregnancies. Most families have from 5 or 6 to 8 or 9 children. In the Guangxi Zhuang, Jing and Mulao nationalities, several 10s of every hundred women marry before age 17. In the Yunnan Dehong Dai nationality and Jingpo nationality autonomous prefectures a great many people marry at age 14 or 15, some even as early as 12 or 13, and bear children at age 15, with a great many having as many as 17 pregnancies. In the Jingpo nationality it is more common to have 6 or 7 children. In the Gansu Zhangjiachuan Mongol autonomous county, because of the influence of religious and other factors, prior to Liberation marriages were generally between 13 to 14 year old males and 9 to 10 year old females. After Liberation these age levels gradually rose, but at present early marriages still total 51 percent of all yearly marriages. In the Sichuan Liangshan Yi nationality autonomous prefecture there still are marriages at age 12. Merely in terms of quantity, the customs of early marriage, early childbirth, and many closely spaced births not only extends the childbearing period, it moreover shortens the generation gap between mother and daughter and greatly speeds up the birth cycle, causing even more rapid population increases.

3. A low level of economic development. Some areas experienced excessively rapid population increases which generally resulted in highly increased population density and a continual decline in the amount of arable land, pastures, foodgrains and livestock per person. (See Table No 4 on the following page)

In areas inhabited by minority nationalities where the natural conditions are somewhat better the population density is continually increasing, there is a general decrease in the amount of pastureland and arable land per person and there are severe obstacles to the development of the agricultural and animal husbandry economies. For example, Table No 4 shows that Qinghai province which is primarily engaged in animal husbandry has a population density of only 5.2 people per square kilometer, but the great majority of prefectures throughout the whole province are far above sea level, quite cold, have thin air and are arid so they are not suitable for habitation. This is especially true of the Kekexili area which is contiguous with Tibet and which to this date remains uninhabited. Consequently, 73 percent of the population of the entire province is concentrated in an eastern agricultural region which constitutes 4 percent of the area of Qinghai province. In this region the population density reached as high as 90 people per square kilometer, the per person amount of land and foodgrains is lower than the 1949 level, in 1949 there was 1,429 mu of pastureland per person and this has declined to

only 500 mu, which severely influences the ability of the land to support animals. The Southwest China Guangxi Zhuang autonomous region is primarily agricultural and the population density rose from 79 people per square kilometer in 1950 to 151 people per square kilometer in 1979, yet the amount of available arable land per person declined from 1.39 mu to 0.7 mu. In Guizhou province in the Qiandongnan Miao-Dong autonomous prefecture in 1979, there were 7 counties with per person amounts of foodgrains lower than the 1949 level. In short, this phenomenon of excessively rapid population increase together with the current situation of declining production levels is extremely unsuitable. This certainly will result in a sharp contradiction between population increases and declining amounts of arable land and pastureland per person which will produce a series of socio-economic consequences. They are the main factors underlying slow agricultural and animal husbandry development, the low commodity ratio and the slow rate of livelihood improvement for the agricultural and herding people, they also are the main reasons why some of the far off mountain regions and herding areas to this day have not been able to escape their poverty and backwardness. Of course, those minority nationalities living in the desert, freezing and arid regions of Tibet, Qinghai, Xinjiang and Nei Monggol as well as the relatively remote mountain regions of the Yunnan-Guizhou plateau face very difficult natural conditions and their methods of production are basically still those of the "slash and burn" type, so the process of economic development still requires an increase in the population and the labor force.

Table No 4: A Comparison of Population and Economic Conditions in Certain Minority Nationality Areas

<u>Factor</u> <u>Area</u>	(1) 年 代	(2) 人口密度 (人)	(3) 人均耕地 (亩)	(4) 人均粮食 (斤)	(5) 人均牲畜 (头)
Nei Monggol Autonomous Region	1949 1978	5 15	10.7 4.4	699 544	1.3 (1947年) 2.1
Qinghai Province	1949 1979	2 5.2	4.6 2.3	469 441	
Gansu Zhangjiachuan Moslem Auto County	1953 1980	139.7 182.1	4.59 2.78	(6) 503(口粮) 297(口粮)	0.22 0.13
Xiangjiang Uighur Autonomous Region	1949 1978	(7) 3(53年) 7.7	4.18 3.87	393 583	2.4 2.0
Tibet Autonomous Region	1952 1978	1.0 1.6	3.1 3.0	270 574	8.5 13.1
Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region	1950 1979	79 151	1.39 0.7	461 676	
Debao County (in Guangxi)	1952 1980	83.7 124	1.8 1.18	456 452	
Yunan Dehong Dai-Jingpo auto pref.	1952 1978	30 63.6	2 1	757 752	

(1)Years (2)Population Density (People) (3) Arable Land (Mu)
 (4) Foodgrains Per Person (Jin) (5) Animals Per Person (Head)
 (6) Grain Ration (7) 1953

4. The great discrepancy between the level of development and the actual needs in culture, education, health and sanitation. Except for those minority nationalities, such as the Koreans who have a somewhat higher cultural level, the other nationalities all have much lower ratios of students entering school, universal education and attainment of educational qualifications than in the Han nationality regions. For example, in 1979 in the Qinghai animal husbandry regions, of the approximately 25 percent of those enrolled in schools, primary school education was available only to 3-6 percent of the students of that age group, and of the post-Liberation population 75-80 percent were illiterate or semi-literate. During this same period, elementary school graduates in Tibet reached nearly 10 percent. In the Guangxi Zhuang countryside 60 percent of the people are illiterate. Even in the somewhat more developed minority nationality areas of Hunan the illiteracy rate is still 33.4 percent. Because of low levels of culture and education, a lack of human talent and a relatively low level of population quality quite a few rural production brigades can't find any bookkeepers and must "keep accounts by counting beans and record wages by knotting ropes." A low cultural level not only directly influences the use of scientific methods to bring about agricultural developments, resolve contradictions of people and farm animals with grasslands in the herding areas, change the weather-dependent animal husbandry conditions of "working through the summer, living well in the fall, growing lean in the winter and starving in the spring," it moreover easily falls prey to backwards religious superstitions, which then leads to thoughtless childbearing.

In the area of health and sanitation, the minority nationality regions are faced with the problem of few doctors and a lack of medicines. Moreover, feudal superstitions and habits abound in many places so that some minority nationality areas are still beleaguered with a high birth and death rate. According to an investigation by the Sichuan Nationality Research Institute and Sichuan University, 105 women of the Liangshan Yi autonomous prefecture altogether gave birth to 530 babies, of which 363 survived and 31.5 percent died. Moreover, there are more marriages between relatives among the minority nationalities and some of them even today still prefer marriages between cousins, so there are a great variety of heredity illnesses, which seriously influences their population quality. For example, in 1949 the Qinghai Huzhu Tu autonomous county had a total of 290,000 people, 6.9 per thousand of who suffered from dementia, mental illness and who are deaf and dumb or blind. In the Guizhou Qiannan Boyi-Miao autonomous prefecture with a total population of 270,000 people, 6.3 per thousand are deaf, dumb or have sub-normal intelligence. In Gansu province Zhangjiachuan Mongol autonomous county, 7.2 percent of the people have a low I.Q. An investigation of the Sichuan Liangshan Yi nationality showed that of 100 families 7 were found to have marriage between close relatives.

It is worth noting that the above-mentioned conditions continue to occur as the population increases. For the rest, because health and sanitation conditions do not keep up with the speed of population growth so in some areas the people's health is threatened by disease. For example, a spot check in Guizhou of 5.23 million people in 48 counties revealed 733,500 sick people, 14 percent of the total population. Of these, in Duyun county, Kayou Commune (Buyi nationality) has a illness rate reaching 53.12 percent, and 22,500 suffer from keting [0344 3060], 4.3 percent of the entire population.

At present, population growth conditions among the minority nationalities are locked into habitual reproduction, and not only might exceed the present speed of population growth within a brief period and reach an even higher peak of births, moreover, all of this will be quite harmful to minority nationality economics and cultural development and nationality prosperity.

(3)

The objective features of minority population development concretely prove that the minority nationality population is a part of the total national population. They not only share the same problems with the overall national population but also have a great many different problems limited to the minority nationalities. If there is a serious imbalance between population and economic growth the livelihood conditions of the minority nationalities in most prefectures will remain poor and difficult; the proportion of illiterates will remain high and the number of people entering middle school and university especially will be very low; there will be a continual decline and worsening of the conditions of people depending on farmland, herds depending on grazing lands and there will be ecological imbalance. Other factors such as the religious beliefs, customs and habits of the minority nationalities are reflected in their population development. Regarding these problems, many minorities have begun to consider their own prosperity and development in light of the needs of construction of the four modernizations, with the realization that developing their superiorities, implementing policies and making progress in social and cultural development should be concurrent with the implementation of family planning. According to a 1980 investigation, in a commune of the Nei Monggol Chen Baerhu Banner the contraception rate is 47.3 percent, in the Guangxi Zhuang autonomous prefecture 84.9 percent, in the Gansu Zhangjiachuan Mongol autonomous county 85.5 percent, and in the Hunan Tong autonomous county 79.7 percent. In Guangzhou province, no level of government decreed that the Li nationality practice birth control but they themselves expressed the desire to do so. In 1980, the Hainan Autonomous Prefecture Birth Control Office made 25 awards to progressive communes and towns for family planning and the Li nationality won 13 of the awards, having 52 percent

of the progressive units. Of course, there are problems of understanding as well as other concrete problems in promoting family planning among the minority nationalities. There are some who believe that there are too few people of minority nationality and that family planning and controls on population increases will further reduce their already small numbers. Therefore, they reject family planning and advocate unrestricted population increases for minority nationalities. There are those who advocate more births for minority nationalities because they mostly live in far off mountainous regions with inferior health care and sanitation and very difficult natural conditions. Because the amount of work performed is a major factor in their life and livelihood they therefore need more births. How the minority nationalities will conduct family planning and how they will determine their population development goals still are very complex issues. They must proceed from their own objective conditions and must also consider the goals of the entire nation in terms of population conditions and population development. Comrade Zhao Ziyang gave a government work report at the 4th Session of the 5th National People's Congress saying: "In order to guarantee the steady improvement of the people's livelihood we must continue our steadfast, effective control over population increases." He also said, "We ask all people of the nation to make an unremitting effort to work for the well-being of the people and the future of the people by implementing the goal of limiting our population increases to 1.2 billion by the end of this century." Of course, this directive must also be carried out among the minority nationalities. However, family planning work in these areas must change according to the region and suitable allowances must be made where necessary, but we also must promote family planning and formulate workable methods.

Population development among the minority nationalities is a major issue requiring extensive and deep research. Although we lack sufficient understanding and grasp of the origins, environment and socio-economic conditions of the various nationalities as well as their population reproduction features, we nonetheless have arrived at the above understandings from our current materials in the hope of eliciting valuable comments, bringing this matter to people's attention and actively undertaking investigation, research and discussion. (February, 1982)

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